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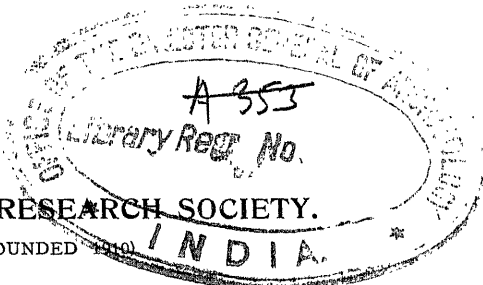
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THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

(FOUNDED 1910)

INDIA.

*For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science  
and Literature in relation to Burma and neighbouring  
Countries.*

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# BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY'S JOURNAL.

JUNE, 1911.

Vol. I, Part I.

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Inaugural Meeting of the Burma Research Society, held on the 29th March, 1910, at the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon. .. ..	1
Account of the 1st General Meeting .. ..	10

## ARTICLES.

Matriarchal Vestiges in Burma. By J. S. Furnivall, I.C.S. .. ..	15
The Early Use of the Buddhist Era in Burma, by Taw Sein Ko, M.R.A.S. .. ..	31
Human Sacrifices Near the Upper Chindwin. By R. Grant Brown, I.C.S. .. ..	35
Elementary Studies in Lahoo, Ahka (Kaw), and Wa Languages. By Rev. C. B. Antisdell, M.A., B.D. ..	41
The Lahoo Narrative of Creation. By Rev. C. B. Antisdell, M.A., B.D. .. ..	65
Some Anthropometric Data of the Talaings. By B. Houghton, B.A., M.R.A.S., I.C.S. .. ..	70
Karen Folk-lore, I.—The Legend of Twa-Mè-Pa. By Rev. David Gilmore, M.A. .. ..	75
The Kings of Burma. By R. Grant Brown, I.C.S. ..	83
Missionary Burmese. By Maung Tin, B.A. .. ..	87

## VARIETIES.

Harvest Home in Burma. By J. S. F. .. ..	92
The Burmese Calendar. By J. S. F. .. ..	96
Narratives and Dialogues. By H. L. .. ..	98
Translation of Burmese Songs. By R. Grant Brown, I.C.S. .. ..	99

## REVIEWS.

Critical Note on Mr. Furnivall's Paper on Matriarchal Vestiges in Burma, by Prof. G. R. T. Ross.—A. A. Macdonnell's Vedic Grammar, by A. D. Keith.—Dr. Hertel's Panchatantra, by A. D. Keith.—Lloyd's Twentieth Century Impressions of Burma, by G. Rutledge.—Major Davies' Yunnan, by G. Rutledge.—Shwe Zan Aung's Logic in Burmese, by Mg. May Oung.—Mrs. Rhys Davids' Psalms of the Sisters, by Mg. Tin.—Mrs. Mabel Bode's Pali Literature of Burma, by C. Duroiselle.—J. Stuart's Burma through the Centuries, by C. D.—Shwe Zan Aung's Compendium of Philosophy, by Ânanda M.—Justin H. Moore's Sayings of Buddha, by C. D.—Rhys Davids' Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. II, by C. D.—Bhikkhu Ñāṇatiloka's Die Reden des Buddha, by C. D.—Bhikkhu Ñāṇatiloka's Das Buch der Charaktere, by C. D.—Seidenstücker's Pāli Buddhismus in Übersetzungen, by C. D.—Sinha's Singularity of Buddhism, by C. D.—J. Vas' Notes for Pali Students, by Mg. Tin.—S. W. Cock's Short History of Burma, by C. D.—Col. G. E. Gerini's Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia, by C. D.—Finot's Buddhism in Indo-China, by C. D.—L. de Lajonquière's Domaine Archéologique du Siam, by C. D.	103
Publications offered to the Society	150
Periodicals	<i>ib.</i>
Obituary Notices	152
Minutes of the Proceedings of the Burma Research Society	158
Statements of Accounts	163
List of Members	168

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# BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY'S JOURNAL.

## DECEMBER, 1911.

### Vol. I, Part II.

### CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Chinese Antiquities at Pagan. By Taw Sein Ko, M. R. A. S.     ..     ..     ..	1
The Foundation of Pagan. By J. S. Furnivall     ..	6
Shin Sawbu. By Saya Thein     ..     ..	10
The Linguistic Survey of India. By R. Grant Brown, I. C. S.     ..     ..     ..	17
The Derivation of Prome. By S. A.     ..     ..	24
Burmese Nursery Rhymes. By J. A. Stewart, M.A., I.C.S.     ..     ..     ..	26
Burmese Folklore. By R. A. S.     ..     ..	28
Lahoo Traditions ( <i>continued</i> ). By Rev. C. B. Antis- del, M.A., B.D.     ..     ..     ..	32
Karen Folk-lore, II.—The Fall of Man. By Rev. D. Gilmore, M. A.     ..     ..     ..	36

### REVIEWS.

Critical Note on Mr. Taw Sein Ko's Paper on "The Chinese Antiquities of Pagan" by May Oung—Dr. Ross and Mother Kin, by J. S. Furnivall—U Po Hla's Life of Judson in Burmese, by Maung Tin.—Bhikkhu Silācāra's Pancha Sila, by N.—Saya Lun's Shwe Nat-Taung Thamaing, by M. O.—Rev. W. C. B. Purser's Christian Missions in Burma, by A. D. Keith.—E. M. P.-B's A Year on the Irrawaddy, by A. D. K.—Shwe Zan Aung's Compendium of Philosophy, by Dr. G. R. T. Ross.—Tha Dun Aung's Pali Grammar, by M. T.—Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, by J. S. Furnivall.—Dr. J. Ph. Vogel's Antiquities of Chamba States, by C. Duroiselle.—Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments,

Northern Circle (Punjab), by C. D.—Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, by C. D.—Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for 1907 08, by C. D.—Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1910-11, by C. D.—Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, by C. D.—Dr. B. P. Spooner's Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum, by C. D.—Dr. J. Ph. Vogel's Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Mathura, by C. D.—Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle for 1911, by C. D.—Csoma de Kőrös' Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary, Part I, by C. D.—Bhikkhu Ñāṇatiloka's <i>Kleine Systematische Pali-Grammatik</i> , by C. D.—M. A. Foucher's <i>La Porte Orientale du Stupa de Sanchi</i> , by C. D.— <i>The Pavacanopayani</i> , by C. D.— .. .. .	43
--	----

#### NOTES, QUERIES, MEMORANDA, Etc.

Names of Burmese Kings, by May Oung.—A Dissertation on the Spelling of the Burmese word for heart, by Ba Te.—Mr. J. A. Stewart's queries and answers thereto by C. D. and M. O.—Introduction to Burmese Songs— .. .. .	83
Periodicals .. .. .	92
Books and Publications offered to the Society ..	94
Obituary .. .. .	95
List of Members .. .. .	96

**Inaugural Meeting of the Burma Research Society, held on 29th March, 1910, at the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon.\***

The inaugural meeting of this Society was held on Tuesday evening at the Bernard Free Library, when the Lieutenant-Governor presided. Amongst those present were Sir Charles Fox, Bishop Cardot, Mr. Justice Twomey, Hon. Mr. Eales, the Hon. Mr. Rice, the Hon. Mr. Cowasji, Colonel Frenchman, Messrs. J. G. Covernton, J. Stuart, G. Rutledge, C. Duroiselle, May Oung, J. T. Best and Rev. Dr. Hicks.

The Hon. Mr. Eales, President of the Society, in opening the proceedings said : - On behalf of the members of the Burma Research Society, I beg to offer you our sincere thanks for your presence here this afternoon at our inaugural meeting. I do not intend to enumerate the objects and reasons which have prompted us in founding this Society. These will be fully set forth in the inaugural address of Maung May Oung. But I may briefly state that we propose to encourage and promote the study of questions relating to Burma, its history, its ethnology, its philology, and other cognate studies and, at the same time, to foster, encourage, and increase the good feeling and mutual respect between the Briton and the Burman which, I am proud to say, is a characteristic of our province (hear, hear). It is very meet and right, therefore, that you, Sir, who, after 32 years' strenuous service in Burma, are now closing your distinguished career as our Lieutenant-Governor, should be present at this our inaugural meeting. We hope that even after you have left the province you will still continue your connection with the Society and your interest in our proceedings. Before calling on Maung May Oung to read the inaugural address there is one matter which, I think, I ought to mention. This Society is greatly indebted to the energy and enthusiasm of Mr. Furnivall. It is, perhaps, one of the most encouraging signs that the foundation of this Society is, in a great measure, due to the energy and initiative of the younger generation both of Burmans and Britons who will have to carry out, and I hope successfully, all the objects aimed at by us here. I know that I am only voicing the opinions of the other members when I say that we greatly regret Mr. Furnivall's unavoidable absence this afternoon.

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\* Reprinted from the Rangoon Gazette.



I will now call upon Maung May Oung to read the inaugural address.

### INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Mr. May Oung said:—Your Honour, and gentlemen, members of this Society,—I suppose that with most of us among the anticipated emotions of the evening there has been a certain dread of being bored; myself, I have been burdened with the weightier fear of boring others. If for this our opening meeting we could have obtained some recognised authority to lecture us on some subject, compelling our interest by his command of it, despite the set formality of an inaugural address, we might have reckoned on escaping boredom. But that there are in Burma so few with such authority, and those few not readily available in any one locality, is a chief argument for the necessity of founding this Society. I unfortunately—and I do not know how many here are disposed to make a similar confession—am no authority on any of the subjects with which this Society will in the course of its existence be concerned. That I shall not bore you, therefore, I must confide in the generous enthusiasm which is the good fairy presiding over birthdays, even at the birth of an organism so cold-blooded as a learned Society. You will notice that I venture to call it a “learned society”; perhaps—and it is all the greater honour to the great exceptions, whether present at or absent from this meeting,—perhaps it were called more fittingly an unlearned society. For if I mistake not, it is rather in the hope of receiving instruction than to air our erudition that most of us have joined. And this makes it the more necessary that we should do all we can to maintain the interest with which we start. Learning without tears is the motto of modern education; to be uninteresting is the only vice which cannot find forgiveness, and if we do not succeed in interesting one another we might as well make this inaugural address a funeral oration; the two occasions will follow so close on one another that the same ceremony may serve for both, and the birthday candle be used to dress the funeral baked meats. And there is so much of interest in Burma, so easy to be put on record, that it would be the last pity if we should die of inanition.

It is chiefly to call your attention to a few points of general interest in which the least learned of us can give help that I wish to devote myself in this address. I do not wish to speak of all we hope to do—that would take me far beyond the limits of your patience and the time allotted me.

We might issue an Encyclopædia Burmanica containing nothing but interrogation marks concerning all we do not know and hope to ascertain—Magic, Maryolatry and Morals; Music, Marriage and Mortification, to open at random the volume of the "M"s. Or I could string a list of "ologies", ethnology, etymology, entomology, which any of you can do better for yourselves by consulting a library catalogue, or a dictionary of scientific terms. A list, however, will be published in the first number of our journal containing fuller suggestions as to subjects on which information is desired than I can possibly set forth at present. It is not, therefore, what we hope to accomplish that I wish to indicate, but merely to point out what can be done if only we can succeed in stimulating a genial fervour of intellectual interest in the circumstances among which we lead our lives.

But in the first place I wish—for this is essential to a comprehension of the possibilities within our grasp—I wish, however briefly and inadequately, to recapitulate some of the more important work that has already been accomplished. And if I omit to mention any matter deserving notice in a sketch so lightly outlined, it must be ascribed to an ignorance which, I hope, in the course of membership of this Society, will be enlightened. Setting aside all Burman works, and as a Burman I feel no little pride that they are numerous and of no small importance, it is well known that the work upon this country, first in date and by no means last in interest, is the study by Father Sangermano. To Government, on the initiative I believe of Sir John Jardine, we owe our thanks that this is obtainable from the Government Book Depot at the moderate price of three rupees. But although this was the first book devoted entirely to the country, there are references and descriptions in the works of earlier Europeans; the incidental mention in Marco Polo is the forerunner of the more detailed accounts given in the 16th and 17th centuries; and one of the best and earliest of these was given by an Englishman, Ralph Fitch. Still it is Father Sangermano who inaugurates the modern period of scientific observation, and he is only the first of many missionaries of all creeds who have studied closely the country of their labours. To Judson we owe the greater portion of the authoritative Burmese-English Dictionary; to Dr. Mason we owe a work on Burma, encyclopædic both in conception and in execution; to Bishop Bigandet we owe the most widely known interpretation of the life of Gaudama that has yet been compiled from Burman sources. Symes, Cox, Snodgrass, Yule, are names that will occur to every one as examples of the interest that military officers have taken in

setting on record for European students the history and customs of the country; while in Captain Forbes the army has given us perhaps the most scholarly student of things Burman who has yet arisen. Among administrators, Sir Arthur Phayre, General Fytche, Sir George Scott, Colonel Spearman, and Sir Richard Temple have shown that theirs was no hireling interest in the country where they spent their lives.

But the works of these are known to every one, some of them still available in the market-place, all of them if nowhere else, in this library where we are now foregathered. Although the Society may help to fan the interest in these loving labours of the past, it is not in bringing these works to public notice that it will justify its being. For there are numerous other books, pamphlets and papers, scattered here, there and everywhere, the very existence of which is not generally known. In the records of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, established rather more than a hundred years ago for reasons and with objects bearing in many respects a great resemblance to our own, there are many papers on Burma. The pages of the *Indian Antiquary*, especially when it was presided over by Sir Richard Temple, bear ample testimony to his interest in Burma. In many other magazines there are records of and allusions to things Burmese.

Then there are the papers, written at various times and published through various agencies, by Sir John Jardine, by Dr. Forchhammer, and by the present learned head of the Archæological Department, and by not a few others, of whom it would be invidious to mention particular individuals; and there are such works as Colonel Horace Browne's Gazetteer of Thayetmyo and of Mergui, and Captain Lloyd's Gazetteer of Rangoon District, and the many Settlement Reports in which lie, more or less securely confined, numerous facts of interest to this Society. These are only a few of many writings which it would be tedious to enumerate in detail and impossible for me at any rate to state in full. The monographs on Burmese industries contain much of interest, but are perhaps not very widely read. There is an old collection by Dr. Theobald of papers on the geology of Lower Burma, still worth studying; and this has been supplemented by more recent publications of the Geological Survey. We have books on the plants and birds of Burma, while articles on the natural history of the province have from time to time been published in the *Journal* of the Natural History Society of Bombay. Nor has Burma been neglected by European scholars. The labours of the

Pali Text Society, of the Harvard Oriental School, of the French School of Indo-China, touch us closely, while Dr. Schmidt has translated into German the only Talaing chronicle, which is known to be still in existence, and Ferguson, and with more particularity, General de Beylie, have studied the architecture of the country.

Here then we have three definite opportunities, impossible to the individual, but which by patient organised effort we can accomplish. We can publish a catalogue raisonné of books, papers and articles on Burma, which have appeared under different auspices at different times. We can reprint such papers as have still sufficient interest. And we can notice for the benefit of members recent publications. This alone will facilitate the labours of new adventurers opening up the unknown regions which surround us.

But our interest in Burma is not bounded by the geographical frontiers of our country. Perhaps I should be thought to assert our aims too amply if I said that nothing human or inhuman—as Mr. Dooley phrases it—is alien to our ambitions ; but assuredly within the Mongolian sphere of influence, and especially within that smaller area known as Indo-China, there is nothing human or inhuman which is not our close concern. Here, again, we can help our members by putting them in touch with the progress of investigation in surrounding countries. Sometimes this is of the most immediate interest. For instance, in a recent issue of the journal of the Siam Society there were more than a hundred pages devoted to a consideration of the relations between Burma and Siam. And it is no slight argument of the ultimate stability of our Society that the article was written by a Burman now in the service of the Siamese Government. For the most part, of course, we cannot expect such active help in our peculiar endeavours, but our province of investigation cannot fail to be invigorated by the communication of results obtained in neighbouring countries under similar conditions.

But this is the mere machinery of our endeavours ; it will arrange itself automatically under the supervision of the few. What we must have if this Society is to have a real being is the active interest and assistance of the many. And this depends upon ourselves, the absent and present members of this Society. If every member, say for instance twice a year, will remember that the category of his social duties is not exhausted by the payment of his annual subscription, and will devote half-an-hour and a half-anna stamp to the record of the incident which has most impressed his memory during the past few months, we shall have a

plethora of material at our disposal. While, if every member notes every fact of interest—I do not wish to discourage any one who feels inclined to do so—we shall probably have to pay a premium for the insertion of our observations in the magazine. Here, for instance, is an example from which all of us may profit. Sir Richard Temple as most of you are probably aware, has recently issued a work on the 37 nats of Burma. When first he heard of the proposed foundation of this Society, he hastened to place at our disposal a supplementary paper, which although previously published has in the natural course of affairs, to which we hope by means of our Society to put an end, remained unknown to the large majority of those in Burma interested in the subject.

Probably, however, it will not be lack of interest nor of good-will which will attenuate the material at our disposal. Rather will it be the modesty of members who think that because a matter has come within the limits of their personal experience, therefore it must be generally known. This is false modesty. Honour attaches to the man who first discovers anything even if it be a matter of such little human interest as the North Pole. Surely a rational consideration should attach little less honour to the man who makes the discovery a second time. A matter may be true, even though all the world affirm it. And there need be little fear that any large proportion of such discoveries will have been anticipated. And of those that have been anticipated a large proportion will have been forgotten, or, where not totally forgotten, the reference mislaid.

Here then is another thing which we can do, even the least gifted of us. We can put on record permanently the facts which strike us in our daily occupation. Half an hour's walk about Rangoon, half-an-hour on the great pagoda platform in a wholesome attitude of curiosity will enable us to put questions which we might ransack the Bernard Free Library to answer. Why for instance, are *tagundaings* erected, why do they have streamers floating from them, why surmounted by the golden *hintha*, what is the general opinion among Burmans to account for them; why are so many pagodas octagonal at the base, why set upon three tiered terraces, why built of brick; why is there a shrine in Merchant Street worshipped alike by Burman and Hindu; who built the *thein* from which the big bazaar derives its name, why is Shwe Dagon so called, why the Sule Pagoda, why the Botatoung? But I might beat the bounds of wonderland with why, how, who and what, until I grew into an interrogation mark. In Burma we have a proverb.

အမေးကြံ့ကျောင်း:

အဖြေချက်လောင်း:

A fool can ask what Socrates cannot answer. In our corporate capacity as fellow members of this Society we may not perhaps pretend to the wisdom of a future Buddha, but at least we can answer more questions than any individual member. And it is something at least that the questions should be asked. All of us can take notes, and all of us can wonder, and the Journal of this Society will form the permanent record of our notebooks and our wonderings. This we can do if we are interested and are unashamed of ignorance. That we do it depends upon the effective interest and active co-operation of all members.

Of the literature of the country a partial bibliography occurs in the Jardine Prize essay by Dr. Forchhammer, but it deals only with the law books. Even a matter of so much importance in the literary history of Burma as the taking of many works in the 7th century of the Christian era as prize of war to China is not generally known; and in fact it is not long since it was brought to notice by the learned Secretary of this Society.

For studies of the various dialects we have again to thank the missionaries, while others have made good use of solitary leisure in out-stations by adding to the information available in this direction; but there is still room for much research. Then there are archæological studies. Here—thanks to Government assistance and to the energies of Mr. Taw Sein Ko—much has been accomplished. But it is not generally recognised how much that has been accomplished is not readily available, while anyone who has devoted his attention to the subject is only too well aware of what there still remains to do. The influence of India, the struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism, the influence of China and Cambodia, the later relations of Burma with European adventurers, Portuguese, Dutch, French and English, still wait ample treatment.

Then again the origin and development of the various arts and industries, the arms formerly carried by the Burmans in battle or as signs of dignity, the music and the drama, the folk-lore, the legends, the relics of primeval civilisation, of a matriarchal state, of the stone age and so on to the geology, palæontology, anthropology and . . . But here I am back again at a list of all those "ologies" from which I promised to abstain. Surely I have given sufficient indications that there is no subject in which any member may be interested,

however great a novice he may be, in which he can fail to give us useful help with, on his part, a minimum of effort.

Then, again, to round off in some sort the matters which we can accomplish, although the language of the Society must in the main be English, we can give great assistance to our Burman collaborators who have no language but their mother tongue.

This then is a brief resume, not of all we hope to do, but of what it seems to me we can accomplish. But in conclusion I wish just to insist upon something that we must do. I do not allude to the prompt payment of our subscriptions; that is an elementary article of courtesy no less than of good faith. But we must remember that we are young and as we are young we must be vigorous. The response to our circular has, I confess, been more flattering than I expected; sixty was the limit on which I had set my hopes, but all who desire the success of this Society will be pleased to learn that we already have 213 original members. But there is still need for propaganda until every one who would be suitable as a member has become a member. It will not do for us to set up as a select communion of superior souls; we must go into the highways and byways and convince our friends and acquaintances that it will be good for them to join us. It certainly ought to be good for them and it will be their own fault if it isn't. But it is demonstrably certain that it will be good for us. For each member means another subscription and much of our capacity for good depends upon the strength of our resources. But there is more in it than this; the larger is our list of membership, the larger area shall we be able to draw upon for information. Nor can our capacity be measured only by our balance sheet; our final effectiveness will be gauged by our success in stimulating a general interest in our endeavours. And to aid in this must form the minimum of propaganda. If I may adapt the words of one of the greatest of modern Englishmen, we must have "intelligence enough to conceive, courage enough to will, power enough to compel. If our ideas of this new Society are anything more than a dream, these three qualities must animate our members, and then, I say, the thing will be done."

I hope that ere the publication of the first number of our Journal there will be many to supplement this preliminary exposition of what we can accomplish, and above all I hope that I have not bored you. Long life is the privilege of incorporeal humanity, but enthusiasm is liable to no blight so infectious and so dangerous as boredom; and I hope that we shall all of us remember this until our Society has attain-

ed that last privilege of seniority; for otherwise we are already out of date, back numbers before we are born, petrified at the moment of our birth, or at latest fossils in the cradle, possibly to be exhumed by some live scientist of that future which we hope to share.

## SIR HERBERT WHITE'S SPEECH.

Mr. Eales, Gentlemen:—

I regard the inauguration of this learned Society, which has for its aims the investigation and encouragement of Art, Science and Literature in relation to Burma and the neighbouring countries, as an important occasion in the history of this Province. It is to me a matter for wonder that a Society with objects such as ours should not have been founded long ago, and we owe a deep debt of gratitude to those gentlemen who have contributed to its formation. I am very glad indeed that the Society should have come into being before I leave Burma, and I am proud that the privilege of presiding at its opening meeting should have fallen to me.

In his interesting Address, Maung May Oung has so thoroughly traversed the ground that little of an inaugural nature remains to be said. With your indulgence, however, I will make a few remarks, mainly in expansion of points already touched upon.

I notice with pleasure the representative character of the Membership of the Society, a further instance of the friendliness and broad-mindedness which are, and I hope always will be, typical of Burma. During my residence in this Province, I have often been struck by the interest exhibited by my Burmese friends in the history and folklore of their country and I hope they will find this Society of assistance and that the number of Burmese members will rapidly increase. The Society only requires to be known and understood to become popular amongst scholars of the Burmese race.

Although the response to the Circular of the Provisional Committee was encouraging enough, many new members could be introduced into the fold. No effort should be spared by existing members to achieve this object. Lists of members should be circulated, so that it may be known who are members and who are not. In particular, efforts should be made to enlist young Europeans coming out to this country for the first time, both for their own sakes, because the Society will form a real and living bond of interest and intercourse in the Province, and for the sake of the Society, because it is well to gain recruits in whom the habit



of study is still fresh. Funds are wanted for the proper foundation of the proposed Library and Museum; and the Society may perhaps venture to look forward to a time not far distant when interest in the subjects which it has at heart may be stimulated in the youth of the Province by means of Medals or Scholarships. Annual subscriptions and donations for life membership will bring in some revenue, but more is wanted at the outset. I am confident that the Society will not lack financial support and that the necessary endowments will be provided by generous members and others, whom I do not see here this evening, who would be glad to have an opportunity of contributing to the furtherance of the objects for which the Society has been established.

I desire to emphasize also the necessity of literary effort on the part of members. Some of the industrious amongst us may find it possible to communicate articles and notices in the midst of the strenuous atmosphere of this Province. Special help may be looked for from the leisured members on furlough and from the ranks of those whom I may call the departed, in which I shall find myself before long.

If we original members will make up our minds to do what we can for the good of the Society, a prosperous and useful career is assured for it. As I look round this representative gathering to-night, I feel no misgiving as to the future.

Gentlemen, I thank you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to preside on this auspicious occasion.

U Tun Nyein proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Herbert White for having presided on the occasion and for the words of sympathy and advice he had given them.

Mr. Stuart seconded the proposal which was carried unanimously and the meeting terminated.

#### ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST GENERAL MEETING.\*

Sir Harvey Adamson, Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, presided over the first general meeting of the Burma Research Society at the Rangoon College yesterday evening, when there was a large attendance.

The Hon. Secretary, Mr. Duroiselle, read the following report:—

The Burma Research Society owes its existence to the energy of Mr. Furnivall, who conceived the idea of its formation about two years ago. The first step towards that end was taken on the 18th November, 1909, when circulars

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\* Reprinted from the Rangoon Times.

were distributed broadcast all over the country. Despite the pessimism which prevailed in some quarters as to the result of the appeal, within a few days applications from all parts of Burma, and from almost every class, began to come in, and reached the unexpected number of 238. The Society at the present moment possesses 235 subscribing members, and there are signs that this number will continue slowly but steadily to increase. We ought to be well satisfied with such a good beginning, for it has been ascertained on comparison that with one or two exceptions no similar society in the East ever had, at such an early stage, so large a roll of members. It is to be regretted that more have not availed themselves of the privilege of becoming life members at the small cost of Rs. 150. A young society is always in need of such encouragement.

The first results being so encouraging the Provisional Committee had a meeting on the 19th February, 1910, at which the General Committee and the Sub-Committee were constituted. On the 5th March the first meeting of the Committee was convened, at which the Rules of the Society were fully discussed and settled. These rules are now being prepared for the press and will be distributed among the members at an early date. Again, the second meeting of the General Committee took place on the 21st March, to settle miscellaneous matters, and to make arrangements for the Inaugural Meeting, which was held on the 29th of the same month. Sir Herbert Thirkell White, whose interest in everything that tended to promote the welfare of Burma was unrivalled, kindly consented to take the chair.

The Society having thus been ushered into public life under such auspices, the Committee lay under the obligation of justifying the confidence of the members, the existence of the Society and its utility, by beginning in earnest the work for which it has been founded. And for this purpose there were two meetings of the Sub-Committee one on the 9th July, and the second on the 1st of this month. At these meetings was discussed the form the activities of the Society should take, it must naturally be a Journal, a periodical publication embodying the studies and researches of the members on all and any subject having reference principally to Burma, the evolution through the centuries of its peoples, their history, their superstitions and customs, their relations with neighbouring countries, such as India, Tibet, China, Cambodia, their language and literature, the fauna and flora of the country, its geology, mineralogy and other kindred subjects. Such a journal will, after a few years, be a very mine of information, a Burmese encyclopædia in fact, worth much

more than the subscription paid by the members. To-day's meeting is practically the first step towards the publication of the first number of the Journal, which, it is hoped, will be published this year, in the month of October, and subsequently twice a year, as circumstances and finances may allow.

The first number of the Journal will contain about four or five papers, besides a number of shorter, but none the less interesting and important articles on a variety of subjects, reviews of books, and of the publications of other societies, notes, queries, etc. There is, in fact, every hope that this first number will not be a disappointment, and will help to bring us new subscribers. It is to be hoped that members will feed the Journal generously with contributions. It rests entirely with them whether the life of the Journal will be short or long. Many, by long residence in the country and study of its peoples are well qualified to write interesting papers.

I should not like to be reduced, as was, two years ago, a Society with aims similar to ours, to the dull necessity of printing 40 or 50 pages of satistical tables, although to a few they may perhaps be interesting reading. Moreover, it is now time, I think that we, who live in Burma, and have its interests at heart, should wake up to the fact that it offers a vast field for Oriental studies, a very small portion of which has yet been explored ; and to the significant, though perhaps to us unpleasant fact, that with the exception of two or three most of the authors who have written best on Burma, though some of them resided, it is true, for long periods in the country, are foreigners, such as, to cite only a few names, Lassen, Forchhammer, Gründwedell, Bigandet, General de Beylié, Pelliot. I earnestly appeal to the members, many of whom have had long experience in Burma and are no mean scholars in this field to let the Society have the results of their observations and studies, so as to make the Journal as interesting and useful as possible.

In finishing this report, I am glad to inform you that the Library and the Museum, which it is the ambition of the Society ultimately to possess, are now in the way of formation ; they are both very small yet, it is true, but, as you all know, Rome was not built in a day. A few volumes have been sent us by their authors and a few more are forthcoming. As soon as the Journal has appeared in October, an exchange will be made with the publications of other societies, so that before long we shall have an ever-growing library very useful for research in many branches of knowledge, above all, of Oriental knowledge. Publications that

cannot be thus obtained will from time to time be bought from the Society's funds.

We owe the first beginnings of our Museum to a gentleman well known in Burma. We possess already 37 separate antiquarian finds, their date, it is true, has not yet been accurately fixed but they seem, most of them, to belong to the early part of the 16th century. It will take the Museum a much longer time to develop than the Library, but it is to be hoped that, through the generosity of gentlemen in whose possession are objects of antiquarian interest, our Museum will, in due course, become, though perhaps not on a very large scale, an institution worthy of the name.

The Hon. Treasurer, Mg. Tun Nyein, said that since the formation of the Society a sum of Rs. 3,081 had been collected in the shape of annual subscriptions from members. This sum was made up of Rs. 750 from five life members, and Rs. 2,331 from 152 ordinary members. The above sum also included Rs. 30 paid in advance by one of the members and Re. 1 and Rs. 5 paid in excess by two members. The amount expended up to date was Rs. 464-8-6, so that there was a balance in hand of Rs. 2,616-7-6.

Mg. May Oung read a lengthy and interesting paper on "Vestiges of Matriarchate in Burma," by Mr. J. S. Furnival.

The Chairman said—Gentlemen, when I received the kind invitation of the Burma Research Society, I anticipated that I should spend a very happy evening. But when it was followed by the programme, I was horrified to find that the last item was, a speech by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. If there is anything that is calculated to mar the enjoyment of an evening like this and to distract one's attention from the papers, it is the nightmare of knowing that one will be called upon at a subsequent stage to address the meeting. I therefore asked the Committee to kindly excuse me from making a speech, but having listened to the interesting paper that has just been read by Mg. May Oung for Mr. Furnivall, I feel that I must withdraw from my vow of silence and thank, for myself, and, I trust, for all of you, Mr. Furnivall, for the very instructive paper that has been read (applause). Among other things Mr. Furnivall has established a great historical fact, namely, that the suffragettes had a strong hold on Burma long before they were known in the West (laughter). I take this opportunity of congratulating the Society on the progress which it has made. I am glad to hear that the first issue of the Journal is about to be published. I agree with Mr. Duroiselle that Burma offers a wide field for Oriental study, much of which has not yet been tapped, and I join with him in his appeal to the

members to give freely to the Society the results of their own observation and study. Depressed as I am with the study of provincial finance and an empty treasury, it is a pleasure to me to be associated with a Society that has such a promising balance sheet. I am very glad to have had an opportunity of being present at a meeting of the Society, and I say for all of you, as well as for myself, that we have had a most enjoyable evening, (applause).

A hearty vote of thanks to the chair, proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. H. L. Eales, concluded the proceedings.

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## MATRIARCHAL VESTIGES IN BURMA.

BY J. S. FURNIVALL, I. C. S.

In a certain village was an handsome dog, a large black animal of fighting build. In response to an enquiry as to his pedigree his dam was pointed out. She was an ordinary village pariah.

"His father, then?"

A slowly broadening smile carried conviction of simplicity.

"Whoever could tell that?"; was the reply.

It was some years later that a man was descanting on his excellent breed of cattle; "Cattle, you see, are not like ponies, with them the cow passes on the breed, the sire makes no difference."

There are traces of a time when conditions such as these were paralleled among human kind in Burma. As some slight vestiges are almost universal it would be strange if none were found; but there is especial reason for examining the question of such vestiges, when we learn that the most remarkable instance at the present day of a matriarchal organisation of society occurs among tribes closely connected with the Burman race. The object of the present paper therefore is to show that Burman society was similarly organised at a comparatively recent date. Some of the features may be susceptible of different explanations, but each of these is an independent hypothesis, manufactured to meet the facts of the particular case; if it can be shown that several independent consequences may have resulted from one cause, the probability is thereby much increased that it has been responsible for any one of them. There is little doubt that many could supplement the examples which will be quoted in this paper; it does not profess to be exhaustive, it is merely preliminary spadework.

In Australia, even at the present day, there appear to be rude tribes which do not recognize the reproductive functions of the male. But these are savages, loose aggregates of human animals. They are not organised on matriarchal

lines because they have no social organisation. The traditions however of such rude times still colour the institutions of a matriarchal polity, and they are traceable in the past history of Burma, and the present customs. The essential characteristics of a social system based on mother kin have been analysed by Dr. Frazer (1). In such a system descent is traced and property transmitted through the mother only. Examples have been found among certain African races and in the Pelew Islands, but the best is afforded by the Khasis of Thibeto-Burman stock. "Their social organisation presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness, which to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family: in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted . . . The flat memorial stones set up to perpetuate the memory of the dead are called after the woman who represents the clan . . . In harmony with this scheme of ancestor worship, the other spirits to whom propitiation is offered are all mainly female (2). Ethnologically these Khasis are closely related to the Burman race, and are therefore also distant connections of the Mons; or Talaings, who formerly dominated the empire of Pegu.

As the result of his analysis of the conditions among these peoples and of similar conditions in bygone civilisations, Dr. Frazer indicates the following characteristics of matriarchal organisation. The ultimate criterion is the tracing of kindship through the female line; but as a corollary it follows that power and property are similarly transmitted; ancestor worship is of the female rather than the male, and there is therefore a tendency to the preponderance of goddesses in the hierarchy of deities while to the European, with instincts modified by a long patriarchal tradition the

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(1) Adonis Attis Osiris, Dr. J. G. Frazer.

(2) Sir J. C. Lyall, in his introduction to "*The Khasis*," quoted in Dr. Frazer's work, p. 384 Ed. 1907.

sexual relations of such races appear to indicate a lax morality. It must be noted however that although the right to rule and property may be transmitted through the female, actual rule and ownership may be vested in the male. Thus "a Khasi king inherits power in right of his mother, but he exercises it in his own"; and among the Melanesians "... the house of the family is the father's, the garden is his, the rule and government are his." (1)

The following pages contain some incidents of Burman history and custom examined in the light of these results.

There still remains however a preliminary consideration. In countries such as England, the law is an embodiment of recent custom, and we might therefore expect to find the best evidence of Burman custom in their legal codes. This is not the case. As Dr. Forchhammer has shown the Dhammathats do not represent Burman customary law (2). Originally importations from Buddhist India, although for some time they tended at each recension to become more imbued with Burman ideas, this process had not altered them except in certain details, while from 1750 onwards under the influence of the Court Brahmans they began to receive a Hindu bias. Thus they have never reflected Burmese custom, and have borne to Burmese life a relation not dissimilar from that of the Canon Law to English life in the days of the early chancellors or the Roman law among a later generation. They formed a collection of "dooms" or "themistes" to which a judge might have recourse for the solution of perplexing problems (3). That as a result of this we cannot look to them for a description of Burman custom is a matter of comparatively small importance; it is more important that they have exercised a disintegrating influence on the former organisation of society in Burma. Sir John Jardine adverts to this in his preface to Forchhammer's translation of the Wagaru Dhammathat, pointing out that a Burman judge will often assert the existence of a custom,

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(1) *Op. cit.* p. 392-3.

(2) *Jardine Prize Essay*, p. 107. (Government Press Rangoon, 1885). The remaining copies in the Book Depot are badly worm eaten, and a new edition would be welcome.

(3) *Ancient Law*, Ed. 1905, John Murray, pp. 4 and 49-50.



not because he can quote instances of this observance but merely because it finds mention in the legal codes (1). So long as the codes are taken by the law courts to represent customary law this modification of national custom will undoubtedly continue. It is with regard to the inheritance of property that such modification is particularly likely to take place. For instance the allotment in the Dhammathats of an extra portion to the elder (*orasa*) son is without doubt owing to its patriarchal basis. In certain places however the custom still exists for the inheritance to be equally divided among all the children ; but if the eldest son should bring a suit to obtain his legal share, it is probable that the law would give him a portion to which by local custom he was not entitled. Since the Wagaru Dhammathat appears to have formed the basis of both Mon and Burman legal systems since the days of the Peguan King whose name it bears there is less reason for wonder that so few traces of a former system still remain than that any should still be visible.

Despite however the solvent influence so long exerted on the national life by this body of extraneous law, it is still possible to find matriarchal vestiges both in past history and present custom. The devolution of property is so frequent an incident of social life, and so peculiarly liable to the influence of a legal system, that we might well expect to find such vestiges more amply illustrated in the devolution of power and it is convenient therefore to start our enquiry by examining the course of dynastic succession. The endogamic marriages of the Burman royal line have frequently been noticed. For instance in Sir George Scott's best known work, he writes, "The sovereign always marries at least one half sister to ensure the purity of the royal blood." (2) This is one of those logical explanations of human institutions based on the fallacy of regarding man as a rational animal. And it is hardly self consistent, for as he goes on to point out ; "rather illogically, the issue of this union

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(1) *King Wagaru's Dhammathat*. Rangoon, Government Press, 1893, p. 3 of preface.

(2) *The Burman*, Ed. 1882, 1 p. 71.

is not by any means necessarily heir to the throne." Dr. Frazer, in the work already quoted, gives instances of a similar custom in early Egypt, where it appears to have been widely spread, but points out that "brother and sister marriage seems to have been especially common in royal families," (1) and adopts the theory of A. J. McLennan that it was a survival of the days when royal blood was traced through women only.

The chronicles of Burma lend support to this suggestion, for such a marriage is the development, comparatively recent, of a practice whereby the kingdom passed with the surviving queen. The strange fascination exercised upon Burman princes by the widows of their predecessors seems to have escaped attention; but there are many instances well authenticated by contemporary stone inscriptions, while the antiquity of the custom is shown sufficiently by its mention in the earliest legends, those of the Mons and also among the Burmans of the Upper Province.

Thamala and Wimala according to Mon tradition were brothers who founded the City and Kingdom of Hanthawaddy in 189 B. E. (813 A. C.) Thamala, the elder, died after a reign of twelve years, leaving a widow, the Princess of the Golden Gourd, whom Wimala married on succeeding to the throne. "When his elder brother ascended to the village of the nats, Wimala succeeded to the cares and privileges of the throne, and again set the Princess of the Golden Gourd in the position of Chief Queen" (2). This legend is of further interest from its suggestion that the better claim lay with the infant son of Thamala, a suggestion which is noticeable in the Chronicles and more clearly in the popular account (3). By Wimala's orders, his predecessor's infant son was thrown away on the farthest borders of his kingdom; the boy was found and nurtured by a woman who had large herds of cattle, and was brought up to tend her buffaloes. Before he had yet arrived at the full strength of manhood he stood forward as the champion of his country

(1) *Op. cit.* p. 40 n.

(2) *Mun Yazawin* by Mg. Shwe Naw, Hanthawaddy Press, 1894, p. 84.

(3) *Kywema Nankayaing Pyazat*, acted by Maung Aung Bala.

against Indian invaders, and thus asserted his right to the throne. It is not impossible that here we have indications of a transition stage. The Mons, struggling to eject the Orissan colonists from their coast line, found the matriarchal system which had accorded well enough with tribal life, ill suited to their new environment. Even if this suggestion be correct, and the social organisation of the Mons was changing at about the time they founded Hanthawaddy and first achieved a political entity, there is no barrier to the long continuance of former matriarchal customs. For it is a commonplace of social history that customs are never so tenaciously observed as when they have lost all relation to utility; in fact it is not until then that they can be recognised as customs. So little however is known of the Talaings that it is impossible to trace, even in faint outlines, their social evolution. It is from the history of Burma that later evidence must be derived.

Here also, if on this point the chronicles may be trusted, the remarriage of the widowed queen was a custom of great antiquity. Circumstances have ordained that the Decisions of Princess Thudamasari shall be the Burmese work best known to many of us, and it is doubtful how far this may be considered a national collection. Some of the tales show undoubted signs of Hindu influence, but that relating to the gardener who became King of Pagan may possibly be indigenous. The story is found also in the Burmese Chronicles. "King Thinkun had a passion for lonely nocturnal wanderings. One night he committed the fatal error of trespassing on a cucumber garden near Pagan. The owner who was on the watch took him for a robber and killed him with a spear. In terror at his discovery that he had slain the king, he hid the body, but the ministers found it next day. The difficulty of appointing a successor was then solved in a simple and obvious manner. The village had killed the king, *ergo*, he must take up the burden of the office." From this incident he derived his title, Taungthuyi Min, the Cultivator King (1). There are reasons however for regarding this story with suspicion. The legend of

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(1) *Note on the Legendary History of Pagan*, Rangoon 1907, p. 6.

the gardener who became a king is not unknown in other countries, while the account is suggestive of the ceremonial sacrifices analysed by Dr. Fraser in "The Golden Bough." There are instances of vulgar murder, but so far as I am aware no other traces of such a ceremony in Burmese history or tradition.

Whether or no the custom have the sanction of antiquity there is no doubt of many modern instances. In the volume of inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava there occur the names of no less than five queens who were thus married to successive princes between the 13th and the 15th centuries. Asaw, the queen of Uzana of Pagan was the chief queen also of his son and successor, Narathihapade. There is still an inscription dating from 1241 A. C. erected by her while queen of Uzana (1). Pwa Saw, also known as Asaw, was the queen of Narathihapade and of Kyawswa, her stepson. Two inscriptions erected by her in 1291 and 1299 A. C. respectively are still extant (2). This Narathihapade, was the king better known as Talok pyi-min, the King who fled from the Chinamen. Min Saw U, who erected an inscription in 1342 A. C., the daughter of Narathihapade, was likewise the wife of two monarchs, Kyawswa and Thihathu (3). But the most conspicuous example in the Burmese chronicles is Saw On Me. This princess married in the first place Kyawswange of Pinya, and then in succession Narathu and Uzanabyaung, his two brothers, took her to wife while they were in enjoyment of the throne. Thadominbya the next king, was not a member of the family, but he followed the example of his predecessors, when he obtained the crown. It is noticeable that in each case she was the chief queen, a permanent position which might be an an honorary sinecure, and did not inhibit the reigning monarch from gratifying his personal inclinations. Her history subsequent to the death of Thadominbya is perhaps even more instructive. She was made over to a minister, Nga Nu, with instructions for her execution. He however

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(1) *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, p. 71.

(2) *ib.* p. 125, 137.

(3) *ib.* p. 133.

took advantage of his opportunity to marry her and installed himself Governor of Mandalay. His marriage was presumably regarded as an assumption of the royal dignity, and it certainly necessitated the sending of an expedition against him by Minkyiswa Sawke, who had succeeded at Pinya, the then capital. She was captured and again married to her captor, who was left in undisturbed enjoyment of his elderly bride on condition that he lived with her at Pinya. It may well be that after so many years and such vicissitudes of fortune the King was contented to marry her by deputy, and he appears to have complied sufficiently with the traditional formalities by ensuring her presence at the capital. An inscription dated 1346-59 A. C. was erected by her nurse and attendant during her first marriage to King Kyawswa (1). The latest instance occurs after the removal of the capital to Ava. The Tazaung Mibaya was first the wife of Sinbyuyin, or Terabya of Ava, then of his successor, Mingaung I, and finally of Mohnyin Mindaya, who succeeded to the throne in 1408 A. C. She erected an inscription on the occasion of her third marriage, in which she commemorated the building of a monastery and expressed a wish that her two former husbands might share in the merit of the deed (2).

In the fragmentary Mon chronicles however an even later instance is recorded. Sin Saw Bu, the great Empress of Pegu, and benefactor of the Shwe Dagon, the "women ruler" as they call her in the history books, had a story possibly more romantic, and certainly more eminent than that even of saw On Me. In the first place she was the Princess of Thameinsithu, Prince of Dalla, but after his death was given in marriage at the age of 29 to Thihathu of Ava. On the death of this prince she was married to the Pagan Myosa, and then to Mohnyin Mintaya Gyi of Ava. Finally in 791 B. E. she was kidnapped by two monks and set on the throne of Pegu in her own right as representative of the royal stock (3). Fascinating as the ladies may have

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(1) *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya and Ava*, p. 7.

(2) *ib.* p. 34.

(3) *Shwemawdaw Thamaing*, Seya Ku, Hanthawaddy Press, Rangoon 1897, p. 118.

been, so many instances within so brief a period can not with safety be ascribed merely to charm of person ; nor can they be explained by any fiction as to preserving the purity of the royal blood. If however, as in the case of the Thibeto-Burman tribe of Kasis, "political power, although held by men was transmitted through women," the circumstances are self explanatory. The widow was the key to the position, she was the queen bee, the mother of the tribe ; possession gave at least as good a right as primogeniture in mediæval England, even if the actual power lay elsewhere, she was a centre of disaffection under the cloak of loyalty to old established claims.

The-semi religious atmosphere of royalty in early days, and its importance as a political asset would tend to preserve customs connected with the transmission of power in the female line longer than those relating to the inheritance of property, while the latter are much more subject to the pressure of economic forces and the influence of legal codes. But as has been pointed out by Dr. Frazer, "wherever the ancient preference for the female line of descent has been retained it tends to increase the importance and enhance the dignity of woman" (1). Although therefore there are at present few traces of property being transmitted through the female line, we can fairly claim the freedom of woman kind in Burma and their power over property, probably unparalleled in any country of so advanced a civilisation, as resulting from the survival into the present times of ideas originating in a system of mother kin.

There are particular instances corroborating this broad generalisation, among them the custom, now in places obsolescent, of the bridegroom temporarily residing with the parents of his wife. "After marriage," says Shwe Yo, "the couple almost always live for two or three years in the house of the bride's parents, the son-in-law becoming one of the family." Whether the man has to buy his wife with work or money, or has to be bribed by a dowry to take her is largely an economic question depending on the relative.

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(1) *Op. cit.* p. 391.

supply and demand of the sexes. But the point just noticed can not be thus lightly shelved, the survival of matriarchal customs itself depends on economic considerations, and in a patriarchal organisation it was the wife who passed under the *Patria Potestas* (1). It is true that marriage between residents of the same village is now the rule, and that no traces of systematic exogamy can be found. But it is noticeable that there is a large proportion of marriages between residents of different villages and that in such cases it is an almost, if not quite invariable custom for the man to settle in the wife's village.

In this connection an instructive comparison is possible with certain Malayan villages. Here, we read, "tribal descent goes through the woman, and no land can be owned except by women. Exogamy is still a real institution. The husband settles in his wife's village, essentially as a dependent on her and her relations. Thus in every generation the men are scattered, while the women of the village remain a solid compact group." (2) The economic possibilities of matriarchal institutions in the present day are strongly suggested in these sentences, and it is impossible to read them without reflecting that the ease with which immigrants were attracted to Lower Burma after the first few years of English rule may have been partly due to the surviving instincts and traditions of a matriarchal system in which the young men were scattered in every generation. It is a point also which may contribute to the solution of the vexed question whether the Burman is fast bound to his land by sentimental ties, or lightly attached to his holding. So far, that is to say, as any such general question has any one solution or is worth the solving.

That the practice of the son-in-law abiding with his wife's parents is an exogamic survival rather than a reflection of economic actuality is rendered more probable by his remaining on, if the girl be an only daughter, until the old people die, "when in the ordinary course of things they inherit the

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(1) *Ancient Law*, p. 137.

(2) *Socialist Review*, March, 1910, "Where Woman is Master" J. O'May.

property." Under a patriarchal system neither son-in-law nor daughter would have been able to lay claim to it; they would have been excluded in favour of the agnatic kin. Such a devolution of property accords so well with modern European sentiment, while to the Burman it appears so much a law of nature, that its peculiarity does not seem to have received sufficient emphasis. But there is another feature of relationship in Burma which does from time to time excite remark. The "brother-cousin" of the clerk is usually so many "wombs removed;" there is no similar expression for relationship on the father's side, and this popular phrase is almost certainly an indication that agnatic kin in Burma were traced through the maternal line; it is a survival from the time when a man was no relation to his father.

But the nature of property in land in Burma, prior to the effectual introduction of European theories is a question still covered in obscurity, while as regards personal property the son, as was only natural under the club law of early days, always seems to have had the more forcible claim. We might therefore expect to find the clearest evidence of inheritance through the female line in relation to immaterial rights. Unfortunately the evidence has never been collected, yet there can be little doubt that the quasi-baronial dignity of "*myo thugyi*" has frequently been inherited through the female line, and that this is the origin of the multiplicity of hereditary claims which are apt to trouble administrators in the Upper Province. It would be of no small value if members of the Society would contribute notes of any such instances as have come within their personal knowledge. In one case which occurred recently within the writer's own experience such an official had in Burman times succeeded to his place in preference to his brother because the younger son could reckon his descent through both male and female lines.

Passing from the question of inheritance we may now turn to consider whether any evidence may be derived from the customs incidental to the relations between the sexes. There is little doubt that in times when mother kin was the only recognised bond of blood the relations between the



sexes were very much in the nature of free intercourse. The appropriation of a woman to a man—or as they would then more probably have put it, of a man to a woman,—was resented not only as a restriction on the natural rights of free citizens, but as a sacrilegious innovation. One of the best known customs in Burma can hardly be otherwise explained. The custom of demanding “*ge bo*” on the occasion of a wedding is familiar to all who are acquainted with the police courts and probably to most of those who are more fortunate. “*Ge bo*” is the term applied to blackmail levied by the bachelors of a neighbourhood from a newly married couple; if the money is not paid, stones are thrown at the house where they are living. According to Sir George Scott, writing in the early eighties, “in Upper Burma the blackmail is never demanded, and consequently Father Sangermano was puzzled to conceive any reason for the extraordinary practice. Captain Forbes, seeing the payment to procure relief, believed that extortion was the sole origin, as well as the object, of the performance. But the learned in Burmese folk lore assign it a more estimable and much higher beginning. When after the world was formed it was first peopled from the superior heavens of the Byammahs, of the nine that remained behind, weighed down by the gross earthly food which they had eaten, five gradually became men and four women. When these Byammah gyee koh youk, these nine great ancestors of the Burmese and all mankind, had gradually degenerated . . . . . desire arose amongst them, and four of the men took four of the women to wife. The fifth man naturally resented being left compulsorily single and pelted the happy couples with stones on their wedding night. Sympathy with this archetypal bachelor has perpetuated the stone throwing by the loo-byos down to the the present day”. (1) The non-levy of blackmail definitely disproves Captain Forbes’ materialist theory, while the legend as thus related connects the origin of the custom with the institution of private marriage. But the version, as given me by an Upper Burman of great age, with a local reputation for his knowledge of such

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(1) *The Burman*, 1 p. 70.

matters, indicates more clearly the actual origin. "When people had not yet taken to living in houses they had to keep the fact of their marrying a secret. The people were ashamed at marriage of this nature because the first Brahmas, who inhabited the world had been exempt from such incidences of mortality. It was difficult to hide the fact, and other people discovering the circumstances would stone them from the village and they were only permitted to remain on payment of a fine." This traditional account represents generation as resulting from the intercourse of the sexes as a new discovery, it lays claim to great antiquity, "before people had taken to living in houses," and it shows clearly the resentment felt at such an infringement of the communal right. In fact the only reason for not regarding it as an actual representation of the origin of the custom is the extreme improbability that so remote a tradition should be so accurately handed down. This hardly seems sufficient ground for not accepting it, antecedently it is probable that the custom arose in this manner, and there is the legend in support of it.

There is another ancient custom susceptible of a similar explanation. Here the neighbours "...tie a string across the road along which the bridegroom must pass to the house of his intended ... The people who have put up the string ... stop the happy man, and threaten to break the string with a curse unless some money is given them." (1) Both these practices may be deemed survivals from the days when Society in Burma was organised on matriarchal lines.

These customs of obstructing the bridegroom and stoning the newly married couple appear to be peculiar to Burma, but in former times there was another custom which from the possibility afforded of comparison with customs of other races can be identified with greater certainty as an archaic survival from matriarchal days. The custom of religious prostitution has been discussed by Dr. Frazer, who comes to the conclusion that in many races it is probable that "every woman was obliged to submit once in her life to the exercise of those marital rights which at a still earlier

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(1) *ib.* p. 68 j 69.

period had theoretically belonged in permanence to all the males of the tribe." (1) The credit of abolishing religious prostitution in Burma is assigned to Nawrata, the great king of Pagan in the 11th century. The unseemly conduct of the thirty High Masters of the Ayi profession, with their 60,000 disciples is indelibly recorded in the national traditions. Clad in dark garments, dyed in indigo, with strong beards and untrimmed hair, they seem to have ruled by terror, and rich and poor alike, all had to submit their daughters for one occasion to the embraces of these priests. But the occasion was clearly one of high ceremony and the occult meaning is well brought out in the Burman description of the rite. "When the maidens were of full age, and about to be given in marriage they were hung about with ornaments on wrist and neck, and anointed with sweet odours. Then they were sent to the monastery. . . . On the following dawn they were dismissed, and their parents were free to marry them without let or hindrance. If however a maiden were married without having been submitted to the priest, *saying that the hereditary line was broken* they demanded a heavy fine." (2) Here there is unmistakeable evidence that the custom was considered to afford protection to the marriage bed from the dark shadow of impiety, and dated "from a time when the institution of marriage was either unknown or at most barely tolerated as an immoral infringement of communal rights."

The connection of Nawrata with the abolition of the practice is probably one of the many accretions of legend which have grown up round his name. Probably as happened elsewhere, "the revival of the ancient practice even for a single occasion in a woman's life became ever more repugnant to the moral sense," the number of women dedicated in this fashion gradually diminished, and they offered their hair in place of their virginity. Thus the devotee of the old rites would in course of time pass into the modern nun and it is possible that the lowly estimation in which these are at present unreasonably held may in some degree

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(1) *op. cit.* p. 35.

(2) *Shwemawdaw Thamaing*; Seya Ku, p. 87.

be due to the taint deriving from their origin. The connection between temple service and immoral rites may also be held to account for the stigma attaching to pagoda slaves. It has been suggested that these were objects of contempt as spoil of battle, people who to all intent and purpose were dead, save for the magnanimity of their captors. But captive enemies can not have constituted the whole, probably no large portion of the body of pagoda slaves, and there are many instances where captive enemies have been treated by Burmans with remarkable humanity. And since the captives themselves were often of Burman race, the contempt in which pagoda slaves are held can not be due to difference of speech and custom. The Burman theory appears to be that, occupied as they are in humble offices in holy places, they are bound frequently to commit unseemly acts, and are unable to maintain a proper attitude of reverence. This however savours of *ex post facto* logic, and bearing in mind that they are bracketed with prostitutes among the four uncleanly classes it seems safer to conclude that the stigma dates from the time when dedication to the temple involved them in practices which had come to be regarded as immoral when the race instincts of a strictly matriarchal era had grown weak.

The last feature which we have noticed as characteristic of a people organised on a system of mother kin is the preference exhibited for female deities. Here we have a possible explanation for the large proportion of females in the hierarchy of the 37 Nats. Out of the 37 there are nine women, while in the earliest legends, included by Sir Richard Temple in what he has termed the Duttabaung Cycle, there are four women to three men. It is even more significant that three of these women, Hnamadaw, Thonban Hla and Shin Nemi represent three successive generations, and that in no case is the husband regarded as worthy of deification (1). Although there are women in the later legends they do not assume such a large proportion of the total number, nor do they occupy so prominent a place.

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(1) *The 37 Nats of Burma*, by Sir Richard Temple, Griggs, London, 1906.

It is probable that further research would educe many instances which have found no mention here, those given merely represent facts noticed in the course of desultory reading and conversation among Burmans; but it is perhaps permissible to outline some general conclusions. In the first place there is considerable evidence that both Mons and Burmans were at one time organised on matriarchal lines. It is probable that among the Mons primogeniture with descent from father to son was beginning to assert itself at about the time when they first achieved a national existence in the 9th century. The Burmans would seem to have recognised no kinship with the father until some time after the Indian colonists had been established at Prome. Archaic rites, involving practices now regarded as immoral, would appear to have been in full force until the introduction of the "southern" school of Buddhism. Although these were gradually abolished there are many traces that former ideas still exerted an active influence on dynastic succession so late as the 15th century, and that from these originated the otherwise unmeaning modern ceremony whereby a king was married to his half sister. As regards the common people, partly on account of the unceasing warfare, to which matriarchal institutions are unsuited, and more because of the existence of codes with a patriarchal basis there has been a long existing tendency for the father to acquire prominence at the expense of the mother. But in certain customs and social valuations characteristics of an earlier time can still be traced. While perhaps the most important practical conclusion is that there appears at no time to have existed in Burma a strong patriarchal bias, such as is found in Europe, and even more among Mahommedans, with its degradation of the whole female sex to a position of inferiority.

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## THE EARLY USE OF THE BUDDHIST ERA IN BURMA.

BY TAW SEIN KO, M. R. A. S.

At pages 474—481 of the April number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and also at pages 850—860 of the July number, is an interesting controversy on "The revised Buddhist era in Burma," carried on between Dr. Fleet and Mr. Blagden, and the latter has asked me to intervene. Most willingly do I comply with his request.

The thesis laid down by Dr. Fleet and questioned by Mr. Blagden is this: That the reckoning with the initial point in B. C. 544 was devised in Ceylon, was put together in its complete form just after A. D. 1165, and was carried to Burma in the decade A. D. 1170—80.

At pages 256—257 of the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XXIII, 1894, I have discussed the Burmese eras and the mode of reckoning them. There are three eras, namely, the Era of Religion, which began in 544 B. C.; the Śāka Era which began in 78 A. D.; and the Chinese Era, now current, which began in 638 A. D. The Śāka Era was established in its own second year, after wiping out 622 ( $544 + 78 = \text{Dodorasa}$ ) years of the Era of Religion; and the Chinese Era was established after wiping out 560 (*Khachha-pañcha*) years of the Śāka Era.

There appears to be strong evidence to show that the Era of Religion or the Nirvāṇa Era, which began in 544 B. C., was known to the Burmans long before the 12th century A. D. When they adopted the Saka as well as the Chinese Era, the year was reckoned in its equivalent of Anno Buddhæ. Further, at pages 49—50 of the *Kalyani Inscriptions* (Rangoon edition), precise dates are given of three principal events: Anno Buddhæ 1601, Sakkarāj 419 = Anuruddha or Anawrata conquered Thaton. Anno Buddhæ 1708, Sakkarāj 526 = Siri-Sanghabodhi-Parakkamabāhu King of Ceylon, reformed Buddhism. Anno Buddhæ 1714, Sakkarāj 532 = Maha-thera Uttarājīva set out for Ceylon.

In order to convert a year of Anno Buddhae into a year of the Christian era, we have to deduct 544 from the former; and in order to turn a year of Sakkarāj into a year of the Christian era, we have to add 638 to the former. It will thus be seen that, in Burma, it is customary, in all important documents, to record dates in Anno Buddhae as well as in Sakkarāj, the one acting as a salutary check on the other.

The Myazedi Inscription, which is referred to by the learned controversialists, is the first lithic record yet found in Burma, which is inscribed in the Burmese character. It has four faces, each of which is engraved in a different language, namely, Burmese, Talaing, Pali, and in an unidentified language. Mr. Blagden notes that there are two copies of the quadrilingual epigraph, and Dr. Fleet doubts its being a contemporary record because it states only the year of the accession of King Kyanzittha, namely 1628 Anno Buddhae (1084 A. D.), and omits the month and day of the erection of the Pagoda. As regards Mr. Blagden's query, the following account will show why unlike the majority of other lithic records, two copies of the same inscription were made.

The stone, now in the Pagan Museum, appears to be the original. It was found at the foot of a cross-legged image of the Buddha which is on the north face of the Myazedi Pagoda. The Palace of the King being situated to the north of the Pagoda, its northern face would afford the nearest approach to Royal worshippers. The workmanship of the inscription is neat and clear, and the letters are finely cut. The stone is hard and is closely grained. The letters as compared with those on the second, are smaller, and on the face of the inscription recorded in Pali, 20 letters take up a space of 12 inches. The stone is cubical in shape. Its length, covered by letters, is 3 feet and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and its breadth or thickness is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

The second stone, which is an exact replica of the first, and which is now conserved on the platform of the Pagoda, is soft in grain, and several layers have been peeled off. The letters are larger in size, 20 letters on the Pali face covering a space of 2 feet 2 inches. Its height is 4 feet 8 inches, breadth 1 foot  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and thickness 1 foot and half

an inch. It was found close to the remains of a Library, which is to the north-east of the Pagoda.

The above circumstances explain why there are two exact copies of the epigraph. One, the original, was set up close to the Image, whose construction it commemorates. The second, which is a copy of the original record, was put up in the Library for safe custody. In the case of three or four other inscriptions found at Pagan, duplicates have also been discovered. This fact disposes of the alleged unique peculiarity of the Myazedi record.

Dr. Fleet's objection may be met at once by saying that the Myazedi inscription only gives the year of the Era of Religion, because it records a past fact, namely, the year of accession of King Kyanzittha, and because the Era was common to the four communities, using the four scripts of the epigraph. It is not customary for the Burmans to incise on stones, which are not contemporary records, or to make forgeries of lithic records for the simple reason that the epigraphs declare the relinquishment of property and its dedication to a sacred purpose, and not its acquisition for a temporal or utilitarian purpose.

It now remains to consider the great historical value attached to the Myazedi Inscription, and how it may be utilized in revising the chronology, given by Phayre in his *History of Burma* of the reigns of the four Kings of Pagan, Anawrata, Sawlu, Kyanzittha, and Alaungsithu. Phayre based his work on the Hman Nan Yāzawin or Mahā Yāzawin, which was compiled in 1829, during the reign of King Bagyidaw (1819—1837). As these chronicles were compiled under Royal patronage, their chronology is generally accepted to be correct throughout Burma, although it does not coincide with the dates given in the older records, both historical and epigraphic. Assuming that the Myazedi Inscription is a contemporary record—there are no reasons to the contrary—King Kyanzittha, otherwise called Śrī Tribhuwanā-ditya-dhamma-rāj, ascended the throne in 1628 of the Era of Religion corresponding to 1084 A.D. He reigned for 28 years, that is, up to 1112 A.D. The corresponding dates in Sakkarāj will be 446 and 474. These



latter figures correspond in a remarkable degree, with those given in the "Jātā bon Yāzawin" or the Chronological Tables based on the Royal horoscopes. As the Burmans, in common with the Hindus, set a great store by Astrology and horoscopes, these tables appear to afford us trustworthy chronological data. Relying on the Myazedi Inscription as well on these tables and the older records, Phayre's dates may be revised as follows:

Name of King.	COMMENCEMENT OF REIGN.			Length of Reign.	Remarks.
	Year of Religion.	A. D.	Burmese Era.		
Anawrata ..	1588	1044	406	33	
Sawlu ..	1521	1077	439	7	
Kyanzittha ..	1628	1084	446	28	
Alaungsithu ..	1656	1112	474	75	

Mr. Blagden appears to mistake Alaungsithu for Kyanzittha in his later article; Kyanzittha's title is "Śrī Tribhuwanāditya-dhamma-rājā, and he reigned from 1084 to 1112 A. D. Alaungsithu's title is "Sri Tribhuwanāditya-pavara-paṇḍita-Sudhamma-rājā-Mahādhipati Narapati-Sithu," and he reigned from 1112 to 1187 A. D. If the dates given above are accepted, Burmese chronology, so far as it relates to the four Kings, will rest on a firmer basis, the elucidation of Burmese history by the light of Talaing epigraphs, which Mr. Blagden has so kindly undertaken to do, will proceed more satisfactorily.

## HUMAN SACRIFICES NEAR THE UPPER CHINDWIN.

BY G. E. R. GRANT BROWN, I.C.S.

The following statement was made to me when on a visit to Kanti State, in the north of the Upper Chindwin district, by a Shan named Ai Kaw. His parents belonged to Kanti (1). A revolution occurred in the State when he was a baby, and they fled northwards and lived for some years under the protection of the Kachins of the Taro valley. A few years after the annexation they returned to Kanti. Ai Kaw is a great traveller, and has been from Salem (2) near Saramati (12,557 ft.) to the head-hunting village of Mäkware over the shoulder of the mountain, where he says he camped out four nights in snow a foot deep. Last February the Makware men attacked the village of Naungmo (3), inadministered territory only four miles from the Chindwin, and took away thirteen heads.

"When I lived at Kanti I used often to go to Lasa and Lanu, which are both subject to Tāro. I often witnessed human sacrifices at these villages. The victims were brought from another village, never taken in war. The village did not fight with other villages. It is not their custom to take heads. They do their hair in a knot behind without cutting it. Their dress consists of a slip like that worn by Naungmo Nagas, with a strip of cloth hanging loose in front. The women wear a piece of cloth wrapped round the body, about 18" long.

"The victims were always boys or girls. The biggest I have seen was a boy of 15. The usual age is 6 or 7. The price is always Rs. 100. The sacrifice is always in Wagaung (August), at their big festival. I have seen as many as 7 victims killed at one sacrifice. They are always brought from villages in unadministered territory, never from those under the Kanti Sawbwa. A rope is put round the victim's neck, and he is taken to the houses of all the relations of his

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(1) 26°5' N., 95°49' E.

(2) 25°46' N., 95°17' E.

(3) 25°25' N., 95°19' E.

purchaser. At each house a finger-joint is cut off, and all the men, women, and children in the house are smeared with the blood. They also lick the joint, and rub it on the cooking-tripod. The bone is thrown away. They do all this so as to get good rice-crops." (The last statement was volunteered.) "The child is then taken to a post in the middle of the village, where he is tied. He is then stabbed with a spear several times, with an interval between each time long enough to cook a pot of rice, the spear being driven in only a little way so as not to kill him at first. The blood from each stab is caught in a hollow bamboo, to be used afterwards for smearing on the bodies of the purchaser's relations. No one else gets any blood. The object of the repeated stabs ; is to make the child scream : it is thought not to be good if he does not do so. At length the spear is thrust in, and the child killed. Some one then cuts open the body. The entrails are taken out and the flesh cut off the bones, and the whole put in a basket and set on a platform near by as an offering to the god. It remains there only a short time, and is then taken away and thrown into the jungle, basket and all. While it is on the platform the purchaser and his relations smear themselves with the blood while they dance and weep. By 'weep' I mean that they make sounds of lamentation, not that they shed tears. They do so because they are enjoying themselves. That is the way of Nagas : they do not laugh. At the same time the whole village drinks rice-beer. None is drunk before the sacrifice, or after the flesh is thrown away. The women and children join in the blood-smearing and drinking.

"The victim is killed by a nattein (custodian of the god) who is always a man without relations, and who holds office for life. When he dies an orphan without relations is chosen in his place.

(How do you know that all this is done to get good crops?) "The blood of the victim is taken round to the houses of the purchaser and his relations and poured over the seed-paddy which is kept separately in a shed of its own outside the house. The sowing is in Tagu or Kason (April)." Like some other great travellers, Ai Kaw is regarded by his

fellows as being somewhat of a romancer. The reputation, however, is probably as undeserved as was that of Mendez Pinto, who was described by Colonel Symes in his "Embassy to Ava", little more than a hundred years ago, as "the prince of fiction", but who is now known to have been a truthful and accurate observer. To me his account bears internal evidence of its truth. I have thought it best, however, to obtain confirmation of the fact that the terrible ritual described is really practised near our borders, and have made a second visit to Kanti before publishing it. The people of Kanti State are somewhat reticent about these customs of their neighbours. The Lasa Nagas have a village within two miles of Kanti, and many of the people who call themselves Shans are probably of their blood, quite possibly Ai Kaw himself. The statement that the Lasas in unadministered territory practise the right is not confirmed. But the Sawbwa himself says it is practised by their neighbours of Lanu, and Kyimo of Lasa (near Kanti) has given me an account of sacrifices witnessed by him at Kangzo which fully confirms Ai Kaw's, though it is less detailed. He also says the custom exists at Lyisa and Lanu (see itinerary below). The fact that human sacrifices are offered by the Nagas in order to ensure a good harvest, is moreover, mentioned in the Imperial Gazetteer (article "Naga Hills," page 291), and Mr. Needham, who in 1888 marched from Margherita (now a terminus on the Assam railways) to Hachang, in latitude  $27^{\circ}$  about half a degree north of the unadministered Lasa, gives a description hardly less gruesome than Ai Kaw's, which I quote below.

"The whole of the Nagas residing on the south of the Patkoi range are designated Rangpang Nagas, and those on the north side Gum'laus, and the terms are used by the Nagas themselves, as well as by our plains people, when speaking about either tribe.

"The Rangpangs are all human sacrificers, but not so the Gum'laus, and the skulls of their victims may be seen hanging up under the eaves in the front verandah of their houses. The custom is not a yearly one, owing chiefly, I suppose, to the difficulty of procuring a sufficient number of

victims, and on the score of expense, for the ceremony entails the killing of numerous buffaloes, or cows, pigs, fowls, etc., and the giving of a huge feast, to which many kinsmen and friends, even from a distance, have to be invited, but is performed about every 9 or 10 years, in, I believe, propitiation for health, good weather, good harvests, and victory over enemies. As in addition to the live stock required for the feast given on these occasions, the expenditure of rice, both for food as well as for brewing liquor, is very great, the ceremony is one which is usually performed after a bumper harvest.

"Sometimes enemies taken in battle, but oftener slaves, who have to be purchased, are sacrificed.

"The sacrificial *modus operandi* was thus briefly described to me to-day. The victim, having been tied hands and feet, is made to stand on the edge of the front verandah of the sacrificer's house, and his (or her) hair having been seized, and the head forcibly pulled forward and bent downward a man, hitherto hidden from view, steps out from one side and severs it from the trunk with one stroke of his Singpho knife, one of which every Naga carries. As soon as the head has been severed, four or five near relations or kinsmen of the sacrificer rush forward, seize the trunk, cut open the chest, and rummage about for the heart, and the one who succeeds in getting hold of it first is looked upon as a very lucky person. After this, the fingers and toes are cut off and stuck on pointed slips of bamboos close to the sacrificer's house, where they remain until they rot away and the body is thrown away up hill to propitiate the hill spirit.

"The head is cleaned of its flesh, and the pieces having been buried close to the sacrificer's house, a stone is placed over the spot, and a piece of a prickly shrub called Moga phun (*phun* means a tree in Singpho) by the Singphos, which bears a red berry about the time of the *Bihu*, is planted close to it.

"If the victim has been purchased by a subscription among several relations, and this is apparently a common event, the skull is divided among them, the man giving most

money getting the lion's share to decorate (?) his house with. One sex is as good as another for sacrificial purposes, and a child, however small, provided it has cut all its teeth, is as good as an adult. If the victim's hair is long and worth keeping, it is used to ornament hats, etc., if not it is thrown away. Women and children are permitted to witness the disgusting ceremony, and at night singing and dancing, to which all are invited, goes on until a late hour.

"I am told that victims are sometimes given large quantities of *mod* shortly before the time fixed for sacrifice, and, if so, this is perhaps the one redeeming point in the disgusting and cruel ordeal, for it shows that a touch of pity exists even in the breast of a Naga savage.

"The Nagas in these parts are apparently almost as fond of fighting as their more westerly neighbours are, as, from all I can hear, they are constantly attacking and harassing those whom they consider weaker than themselves. The heads of all victims killed in war are invariably brought home by the conquerors, and a piece of the tongue, nose, and ears having been cut off they are carried some distance up hill as gift offerings to the spirit supposed to reside there in propitiation of the victory."

The Patkoi Range, mentioned by Mr. Needham, is the water-shed between Burma and Assam, and the principal source of the Chindwin. The name Rangpang does not appear to be known in Kanti, but no doubt the Lasa Nagas would be included in the designation. Kyimo gives the Marches northwards from Labaingaik, and extraordinarily sharp bend \* in the Chindwin between Kanti and the Falls, in lat.  $26^{\circ} 10'$ , long.  $95^{\circ} 54'$ , as follows :—

1st night	Peinku
2nd do.	Lasaw (deserted)
4th do.	Lasa (first village)
5th do.	Lasa (second village)

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\* This need not be looked for on the map. The Chindwin between latitude  $26^{\circ}$  and the Falls has never been professionally surveyed, and the dotted line in the map of Upper Burma is very wide of the mark. The river at Kanti flows from south to north, and a time-and-compass survey made in 1909 by Mr. Reynolds, I. C. S., shows that its general direction is east and west till a few miles below the Falls.

7th night	Lyisa
8th do.	Lanu
9th do.	Kangzo

The first Lasa village is also said to be four days from Taro or Laksan, the headquarters of the Kachin chief to whom all these villages are subordinate, on the Chindwin in  $26^{\circ} 20' N.$ ,  $96^{\circ} 4' E.$  Ranu, which is marked on the map (on the southern edge of the surveyed area) in  $25^{\circ} 35' N.$ ,  $95^{\circ} 48' E.$ , may very well be our Lanu, the *l* and *r* being interchangeable. A short vocabulary of the Lasas has been prepared by me, and a comparison with the vocabularies in Dr. Grierson's Linguistic Survey shows that they belong to the Eastern Naga group, the Moshang dialect being the nearest. The linguistic map does not show where Moshang is spoken, but it is stated on page 340 that it belongs to the independent country south of the Patkoi, and that the vocabulary was supplied by Mr. Needham.

As the Journal of the Burma Research Society is a Scientific publication, no apology, perhaps, is due to its readers for introducing them to the horrors described by Mr. Needham and Ai Kaw.

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## ELEMENTARY STUDIES IN LAHOO, AHKA (KAW), AND WA LANGUAGES.

BY REV. C. B. ANTISDEL, M.A., B.D.

To make these studies practical it seems well to begin with simple questions and answers with explanatory notes. Later more complex sentences will be taken up (but such as are required for daily use in intercourse with the people). Finally from the studies a vocabulary will be compiled and the grammatical notes systematized with numerous illustrative sentences.

All of the sentences have been obtained from Lahoo, Ahka, and Wa pupils in the Kengtung school.

Sentences in the three languages are grouped for easy comparison.

Among each of these peoples are different tribes having different dialects.

For convenience, characters which can be written by the typewriter are used to represent the sounds. The convenience in thus writing and printing the languages more than counterbalances the objections to the system. The system after thorough testing in school has been found practicable. The pupils read correctly and with perfect understanding.

The following are the characters :

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|--|--|
| <i>a</i> as in <i>father</i> .   | <i>u</i> the above sound somewhat modified when followed by <i>r</i> which then has the sound not of the "rough" <i>r</i> but of the "smooth" <i>r</i> and that rather obscured. |
| <i>e</i> " " <i>prey</i> .   |  |
| <i>e</i> followed by <i>h</i> has sound as in <i>men</i> , <i>eh</i> .         |  |
| <i>e</i> followed by <i>r</i> has sound as in <i>her</i> .                     |  |
| <i>i</i> as in <i>machine</i> .  |  |
| <i>i</i> followed by a consonant in same syllable has sound as in <i>tin</i> . | <i>ai</i> as in <i>aisle</i> .   |
|  | <i>ao</i> as <i>ow</i> in <i>cow</i> .   |
|  | <i>au</i>  |
| <i>o</i> as in <i>obey</i> .   | <i>aw</i> as in <i>law</i> .   |
| <i>oo</i> as in <i>noon</i> .  | <i>oi</i> as in <i>oil</i> .   |
| <i>u</i> almost as in <i>true</i> .  |  |



The consonants have the ordinary sounds.

*h* before *k*, *p*, *s*, and *t* indicate that they are aspirated.

*ng* initial is different from *ng* final and has no equivalent in English.

In Ahka (Kaw) there are two sounds especially difficult which may be represented by *q* and *x*, not that *q* and *x* give in themselves any idea as to the sound, but the sounds must be represented by some characters and these are available.

The Ahka sound represented by *z* is not quite like the English *z*.

An effort has been made to avoid diacritical marks.

The language is tonal, but the meaning of the word can usually be determined from the context.

Two marks are sometimes used to indicate the high tone and the abrupt, explosive. The marks are ' and :.

Examples *ha* trousers.

*ha'* night.

*ha:* quick.

# 1.

	I indicates Lahoo	words and sentences.	
II	" Ahka (Kaw)	" "	
III	" Wa	" "	
	I	II	III
<i>You</i>	Naw	Naw'	Mai :
<i>To-day</i>	Yanyi	Unaung	Hsingai
<i>Little</i>	Aci	Ucu	Cui
<i>Convalescent</i>	Nala	Htale	Moie
<i>?</i>	La	Lo	Leh
<i>Yes</i>	Yo	Ngur meh	U
<i>I</i>	Nga	Nga'	Au
<i>Be</i>	Cheh	Jaw	Ot
<i>Easy</i>	Sha	...	Nyawn
<i>Are you a little better to-day ?</i>		<i>Yes, I am a little better.</i>	
I	Naw yanyi aci nala-o la ?	Yo, yanyi nga aci cheh sha	ve.

- II Naw' unaung ucu htale      Ngur meh, unaung nga' ucu  
     ma lo ?                              htale a ma.
- III Moie mai : hsingai cui      U, au : hsingai nyawn ot  
     leh ?                                  cui.

## 2.

	I	II	III
<i>Rice</i>	Aw	Haw	Up
<i>Hungry</i>	Mu	Meh :	Cai rawhm
<i>Not</i>	Ma	Ma	Ang
<i>Eat</i>	Ca	Za	Hsawm
<i>Finished</i>	Pur	Deh	Hoieht
<i>Are you hungry?</i>		<i>(I am) not hungry, I have finished eating.</i>	
I Naw aw mu la ?		Ma mu, Nga ca pur ve yo.	
II Now' haw meh : nya lo ?		Ma meh :, nga' za deh a ma.	
III Cai rawhm mai : leh ?		Ang cai rawhm, au : hoieht hsawm.	

*Note.*—*Ve* in I and *a ma* in II, they are affixes that have no equivalent in English, verbal assertives ending the sentence. Often in I, *yo*, a strong *m* assertive—*this is so*—ends the sentence. II often has *meh*, *nya*, or *a* instead of *ma*.

The interrogatives *la* (I), *lo* (II), and *leh* (III) are used in direct questions that can be answered by "yes" or "no." In II a prefix usually goes with *lo* as *nyalo* or *malo*, or *meh lo*.

## 3.

	I	II	III
<i>Water</i>	Ika	OOcoo	Rawm
<i>Drink</i>	Daw	Daw'	Nyau
<i>Yet</i>	She	Shi	Nyang
<i>Desire</i>			Hsang
<i>Are you thirsty (hungry for water)?</i>		<i>Yes, I have not yet drunk.</i>	
I Naw ika mu la ?		Yo, ika ma daw she.	
II Naw' oocoo meh: nya lo?		Ngur meh, nga' ma daw a shi.	
III Hsang nyau mai : rawm leh ?		U, au : ang nyang nyau.	

(I) *she*, (II) *shi*, and (III) *nyang* are used with negative "not yet;" other uses of "yet" will be taken up later.

(III) *Hsang*—desire (to drink)—used only with the infinitive. When a noun is the direct object of “desire” *moo* is sued. See sentence 22.

## 4.

	I	II	III
<i>Weary</i>	hur	gha derder	tauk
<i>Come</i>	la	la'	hoet
<i>Coming (n)</i>	lave	laur	
<i>Far</i>	vu	hka	hsingai
<i>Are you wearied?</i>		(I am) not weary, I have not come far. (Literally) coming (was) not far yet.	
I Naw hur la?		Ma hur, lave ma vu she.	
II Naw' gha derder nya lo?		Ma der, laur ma hka shi.	
III Tauk mai : leh?		Ang nyang tauk, ang nyang hoet hsingai.	

Nouns are frequently formed from verbs by adding (I) *ve* and (II) *ur la* and *la'*—to come—; *lave* and *laur*—the coming.

## 5.

	I	II	III
<i>Body</i>	awto	ghawmaw	tokau
<i>Sick</i>	na	na	hsau
<i>Well</i>	Sha	hsa	nyawm
<i>Are you sick?</i>		Not sick, I am well.	
I Naw awto na la?		Ma na, cheh sha ve.	
II Naw ghawmaw na nya lo?		Ma na, jaw hsa do mi nya.	
III Hsau tokau mai : leh?		Ang hsau, nyawm ot.	

*Note.*—The affix *do mi* (II) will be found frequently in sentences, the rule for its use has not yet been ascertained.

## 6.

<i>Are you well?</i>		<i>Not well, I am sick.</i>
I Naw cheh sha la?		Ma cheh sha, nga na ve.
II Naw jaw hsa do mi nya lo?		Jaw hsa na do, nga' na nya.

III Nyawm ot mai : leh ? Ang au : nyawm ot, au :  
hsau.

## 7.

	I	II	III
Go	kai	i	hoo
Truly	Yo	..	pot
<i>Are you going?</i>		<i>I am going truly.</i>	
I Naw kai la ?		Nga kai ve yo.	
II Naw i lo ?		Nga' i ma.	
III Hoo myi : leh ?		Au : hoo pot.	

(I) *Yo* literally "yes," and (III) *pot* are very strong assertive affixes. (II) does not seem to have the equivalent.

## 8.

	I	II	III
<i>Jungle</i>	Hehpu	bawchaung	tiak
<i>Tiger</i>	la'	hkala	hsivai
<i>No</i>		ma ngur	...
<i>In</i>	hkaw	aung	dau
<i>Are tigers in the jungle?</i>		<i>Tigers are not.</i>	
I Hehpuhkaw la' cheh la ?		La' ma cheh ve.	
II Bawchaung aung hkala		Ma ngur, hkala ma jaw.	
	jaw a lo ?		
III Ot hsivai dau tiak leh ?		Hsivai ang ot.	

Notice the order of the words.

(II) *aung* here indicates place "in". It is also used in dative and at times with the direct object of the verb.

(I) and (III) have prepositions *hkaw* and *dau* but cannot always be used as *aung* can in Ahka.

## 9.

	I	II	III
<i>Road</i>	yakaw	gama	kra
<i>On</i>	ka	aung	dau
<i>For drinking</i>	daw too	daw ur	(rawm) nyau
<i>Be</i>	caw	ja	koe
<i>Is there water for drinking on the road?</i>		<i>There is.</i>	

Yakaw ka ika dawtoo caw la? Yo, caw ve.

Gama aung oocoo dawur je Ngur meh ja meh.  
ja meh lo?

Koe rawm nyau dau kra leh? U, koe rawm nyau.

(*water to drink.*)

(II) *ja*—to be—is used for inanimate things while

*jaw*—to be—is used for animate.

(II) *Meh* is used when subject is of "third person." *Ma* was used in many sentences above. *Ma* is used with the "first person".

## 10.

	I	II	III
<i>Drink</i>	dawtoo	daur	prum
<i>Food</i>	catoo	zaur	preh
<i>Eat</i>	ca	za	...
<i>Cook (make)</i>	te	jaung	yoo
<i>Can (v)</i>	pu	nya	ci
<i>Part</i>	tepa	htipa	teplak
<i>It</i>	...	...	naw
<i>Can you cook food?</i>	<i>Some (foods I) can.</i>		

I Naw catoo dawtoo te pu Tepa te pu ve.  
la?

II Naw' zaur daur jaung Htipa joo jaung nya ma.  
nya ma lo?

III Ci yoo mai: preh prum Ci you naw teplak.  
leh?

Drink is usually connected with food, where we speak of food only.

(I) verbs *daw* and *ca* by affixing *too* become nouns; the thing drunk and the thing eaten become drink and food.

(II) has the same idiom formed in same way. *ur* is affixed to verbs *daw'* and *za*.

(II) *joo* is an affix to indicate plurality.

## 11.

	I	II	III
<i>Pony</i>	Mver	Maung	broong
<i>Take Care of</i>	haw	haw	jak

*Can you take care of ponies? (I) cannot take care of ponies.*

I Naw mver haw pu la ? Mver haw ma pu.

II Naw' maung haw nya Maung ma haw nya.  
ma lo ?

III Ci jak mai : broong leh ? Ang ci jak.

## 12.

<i>Book</i>	li	hsur bo	lai
<i>Write</i>	bver	bo	pawt
<i>Read</i>	ghaw	gu	an
<i>Can</i>	hpeh	nya	ci
<i>But</i>	yahka	kawni	viangmaw nan

*Can you read and write? I can read but I cannot write.*

I Naw li : ghaw hpeh la, Nga li : ghaw hpehve, yahka  
bver hpeh la ? li : bver ma hpeh.

II Naw hsurbo gu nya Hsurbo gu nya kawni ma bo  
hsurbo bo nya malo ? nya.

III Ci an mai : lai leh, ci Au : ci an lai viangmaw nan  
pawt mai : lai leh ? au : ang ci pawt.

## 13.

<i>Mat</i>	goye	gawhpoo	jat
<i>Weave</i>	gha :	zur	taing

*Can you weave a mat? (I) cannot weave.*

I Naw goye gha : hpeh la ? Ma gha : hpeh.

II Naw' gawhpoo zur nya Ma zur nya.  
ma lo ?

III Ci taing mai : jat leh ? Ang au : ci taing.

## 14.

<i>Thing</i>	maw	mlaw	kraung
<i>This</i>	chi	hur	in
<i>Carry</i>	...	...	...
(on back)	pfer	hpi	poo
<i>If</i>	ko leh	ana	hpan
<i>Far</i>	vu	hka	hsingai
<i>Can</i>	gha'	cher	pou

*Can you carry this load? If not far I can carry.*

- I Maw chi naw pfer gha' Ma kai vu koleh, pfer gha'  
la ? ve.
- II Mlaw hur naw' hpi cher Mahka ana, hpi cher ma.  
ma lo ?
- III Pon poo mai : kraung in Hpan ang hsingai, au : pon  
leh ? poo.

"Can" in (I) has been translated with three words—*pu* which means to know how, *hpeh* which has reference to the accomplishment. He can (knows how to)—*pu*—write, but is sick and cannot, *ma hpeh*. The words for "can" in (I), (II), and (III) have reference to the act of doing especially used in connection with physical strength.

## 15.

<i>Country</i>	mvermyi	mur	mung
<i>This</i>	ote	xer	tit
<i>Man</i>	hawhka	hkajeza	hsime
<i>Woman</i>	yami	zamiza	boon
<i>Weave</i>	(gha) chi	za or zaur	taing
<i>Cloth</i>	hpa'	hsahpa'	man or pa
<i>In this country do men or Women weave cloth.</i> <i>women weave cloth ?</i>			

- I Ote mvermyi gha haw- Yami chi ve.  
hka chi la, yami chi la ?
- II Xer mur hsahpa' zaur Zamiza hsahpa' za meh.  
hkajeza lo, zamiza lo ?
- III Mung tit maw hsime pa . Maw boon pa taing.  
taing leh, maw boon  
pa taing ?

Notice that different words are used for "this" from those used in sentence 14. In this sentence a person has come into a strange country and is asking about their customs so uses (I) *ote*, (II) *xer*, and (III) *tit*. In (I) and (II) the demonstrative pronoun precedes the noun while usually the pronoun (demonstrative) follows the noun.

## 16.

<i>Shan people</i>	Pichaw	Bichoom	Hsiehm
<i>Bullock</i>	noo	maungne	moie

<i>Kill</i>	dawpeh	dihseh	pa or payoom
	tipeh	...	...
	dawser	...	...
<i>Ever</i>	jaw	jaw	hsa—lang
<i>Some</i>	tepa	htipa	teplak
<i>Do Shans ever kill bullocks?</i>	<i>Some do, some do not.</i>		
I	Pichaw chaw noo dawpeh jaw la?	Tepa dawpeh jaw ve, tepa ma daw peh ve.	
II	Bichoom maungne didseh jaw lo?	Htipajoo dihes meh, htipajoo ma dihseh meh.	
III	Hsa pa lang Hsiehm moie leh?	Teplak hsa pa lang, teplak ang hsa pa lang.	

## 17.

<i>Country</i>	mung	mur	mung
<i>Did you ever go to Kengtung country?</i>	<i>Yes, I went.</i>		
I	Naw mung Hkung kai jaw la?	Yo nga kai jawve.	
II	Naw' mur Nkurmur i jaw a le lo?	Ngur meh, nga i jaw a ma.	
III	Hsa hoo lang mai : mung Cengtoong leh?	U, cao hoo lang.	

## 18.

<i>He</i>	yaw	ayaw	naw
<i>Has he come?</i>	<i>He has not yet come.</i>		
I	Yaw la pur la?	Yaw ma la she.	
II	Ayaw la a meh lo?	Ayaw ma la shi.	
III	Hoieht hoet naw leh?	Naw ang nyang hoet.	

## 19.

<i>Custom (habit)</i>	awli	Zaung	hping
<i>Liquor</i>	zer	jiba	plai
<i>Sometimes</i>	tepawpaw	htipo	tebawbaw
<i>Do you drink liquor?</i>	<i>(I) sometimes drink.</i>		
I	Naw awli zer daw la?	Tepawpaw daw ve yo. ve and yo-assertive affix	



- II Naw ur zaung jiba daw Htipo *ana* daw ma.  
ma lo ? (*ana* means "if") *ma* asser-  
tive affix.
- III Hping mai : nyau plai : Tebawbaw nyau naw.  
leh ? (*naw* means "it")

20.

*Understand*   shi                    shi                    tawng  
*Well*                hkadeh                yawmu                jieht  
*Do you understand or not*   *I understand well.*  
*understand?*

- |     |  |                       |
|-----|--|-----------------------|
| I   | Naw shi la, ma shi la ?                | Nga hkadeh shive.     |
| II  | Naw' shi nya lo ma shi<br>nya lo ?     | Nga' yawmu shi ma.    |
| III | Tawng mai: naw leh,<br>ang tawng leh ? | Au : jieht tawng naw. |

21.

<i>Good</i>	da	yawmu	mawm
<i>Sell</i>	haw	aung	co
<i>Wish (want)</i>	ga' (lit. think)	maw	hsang
<i>Do you wish to sell a pony?</i>		<i>A good pony I wish to sell.</i>	
I	Naw mver haw ga' la?	Mver da ve, nga haw ga' ve.	
II	Naw' maung aung maw nya lo?	Maung yawmu, nga' aung maw ma.	
III	Hsang co mai: broong leh?	Hsang co broong mawm.	

22.

<i>Rupee</i>	hteh:	hteh'	pla
<i>Money</i>	hpoo	hploo	mau:
<i>They</i>	yawhu	Ayawma	Ki:
<i>Want</i>	huga	gurmaw	moo
<i>Get</i>	hu	..	..
<i>Think</i>	ga	..	..
<i>Do they want (get) money?</i>		<i>Yes, they want rupees five.</i>	
I Yawhu hpoo huga la?		Yo, yawhu nga hteh hu ga	
		ve.	
II Ayawma hploo gurmaw		Ngurmeh, ayawma ngahteh	
meh lo?		gurmaw meh.	

III Moo ki: mau leh? U, Ki: moo naw hpooan pla.

In sentence 21, (I) *ga'*, (II) *maw*, and *hsang*—"wish" are used with the infinitive—"to sell"; but in this sentence—"wish or want" takes a direct object "money" and the verbs are (I) *huga'*, (II) *gurmaw*, and (III) *moo*.

## 23.

<i>For what</i>	Ahtomate	ajegheh	yoo—pati, or yoo—kamaw
<i>Medicine</i>	natser	jagha	hsita
<i>For what did you come?</i>		<i>I am sick, I wish medicine.</i>	
I	Ahtomate la le?	Nga na: ve, natser huga ve.	
II	Naw' ajegheh la a le?	Nga na nya, jagha gurmaw nya.	

III Hoet yoo mai: pati? Au: hsau, au: moo hsita.

In direct questions *la* (I), *lo* (II), and *leh* (III) were used; but in indirect questions the interrogative signs are *le* (I), *le* (II)—but not always used, while (III) has various interrogative words.

## 24.

<i>For what pur-</i>	Ahtomatetoo	Aje jaung ur je	Mawh—yoo
<i>pose</i>			pati
<i>Board</i>	tser ba	htebla	hpia
<i>Make</i>	te	jaung	yoo
<i>House</i>	yeh	yoom	nyeh
<i>For what purpose is this board?</i>		<i>For making a house.</i>	
I	Tser ba chi ahtomate too	Yeh te too ve.	
	le?		
II	Htebla hur aje jaung ur	Yoom jaung ur je a.	
	je a?		
III	Mawh in hpia yoo pati?	Mawh hpia yoo nyeh.	

## 25.

<i>Who (inter-</i>	ashoo	ashoogha	pooi maw
<i>rogative)</i>			
<i>Look for</i>	canyi	hsachaw	hsawk
<i>Boy</i>	yapa	ali	kawn nyawm hsime

<i>Objective</i>	hta	aung	..
	<i>affix</i>		
<i>My</i>	Ngave	ngaur	au:
<i>Girl</i>	yami	hzamiza	boon
<i>For whom have you come (I) am seeking my boy, not seeking?</i>			
I	Naw ashoohta la canyi le?	Ngave yapa canyi ve, yami ma canyi.	
II	Naw ahsoogha aung hsaachaw le?	Ngaur ali hsaachaw ur le hzamiza mahsaachaw.	
III	Hoet mai: te hsaawk maw?	Hoet te hsaawk kawm hyawm hstime: au:, ang (hsaawk boon.)	

## 26.

*For whom (in whose behalf)*

	poon	ghadoo	hson
<i>Father</i>	awpa	ada	kuing
<i>For whom did you come? I came in behalf of my father.</i>			
I	Naw ashoo poon la le?	Ngave awpa poon lave.	
II	Naw' ahssoo ghadoo la a le?	Ngaur ada ghadoo la a le.	
III	Hoet mai: hson maw?	Hoet au: hson kuing ti.	

*Note.*—In (II) the *le* at the close of the reply is not the interrogative *le* but is the assertive affix like *ma*, *meh*, *nya*, *a*. A general rule is that *ma* is used with first person and *meh* with the second and third, yet these affixes are frequently changed. Euphony is an important factor in this. The interrogative *le* is frequently followed by an assertive *le* in the answer. When *nya* is found in the question the reply frequently ends in *nya*; see sentences 5, 6, 11, 12, 13. But these principles do not always apply, see sentence 23.

*Ti* in (III) indicates possession and may be used with a noun or instead of the pronoun used as a possessive, this use seems to avoid repetition; instead of saying—*hoet au: hson kuing au:*—they say—*hoet au: hson kuing ti*—thus avoiding the repetition of *au:*

In (I) *ve* and in (II) *ur* are used with the pronoun to indicate possession. In (III) the possessive pronoun has the same form as the nominative and follows the thing possessed. In (I) frequently *ve* is omitted but the order of the possessive pronoun is before the thing possessed.

## 27.

<i>Teacher</i>	sala	sala	hsira
<i>Great</i>	long	long	long
<i>Letter</i>	li:	hsurbo	lai

*For whom is this letter ?      This letter is the great teacher's.*

I   Li : chi   ashoove   poon   Li : chi sala long ve.  
le ?

II   Hsurbo hur ahsoo gha-   Hsurbo hur sala long a ur a.  
doo a ?

III   Lai in mawh hson maw ?   Hson hsira long.

*Long means great in rank not applied to size.*

The form of the possessive noun is the same as that of the nominative. Its case is determined by the context. It follows the thing possessed.

## 28.

*Has he come ?      He has not yet come ?*

I   Yaw la la ?      Yaw ma la she.

II   Ayaw la meh lo ?      Ayaw ma la shi.

III   Hoet naw leh ?      Ang nyang hoet.

## 29.

*Just now      chibur      nyoon      yamin*

*Has he gone ?      He has just gone.*

I   Yaw kai la ?      Yaw chibur kai ve.

II   Ayaw i meh lo ?      Ayaw nyoom i meh.

III   Hoo naw leh ?      Hoo yamin.

## 30.

*Word denoting present progressive action.*

*No      cheh      loo      kawm-pot*  
*mahe      mangur      ang mawh*

*Have you finished eating ?      No, I am eating.*

I   Naw ca pur la ?      Mahe : Nga ca cheh ve.

II   Naw'za deh a ma lo ?      Ma ngur, nga' za loo ma.

III   Hoieht hsawm mai : leh ?      Ang mawh, au : kawm hsawm  
pot.

## 31.

*Drink      daw      daw      nyau*

*Can      gha      ya      yao*

*Have to (pos-      caw      ja      koe*

*sess)*

*If      leh      ..      ..*

*Have you taken (drank) (I) have no medicine, can-  
medicine ? not drink.*

I Naw natser daw la ? Natser ma caw leh—(if)—, ma  
gha daw.

II Naw' jagha daw lo ? Jagha ma ja, ma ya daw.

III Hke nyau mai : hsita leh ? Hsita ang koe, ang yao te  
nyau.

(III) *Hke* is an interrogative used only in direct questions.  
*Te*—often *ti*—corresponds to “to” in infinitive mode—  
“not able to drink.”

## 32.

*Very ja yawka keht  
He has medicine, he cannot he is very sick.  
drink,*

I Yaw natser caw ve, yaw yaw na ja ve.  
daw ma gha

II Ayaw jagha ja meh, ay- ayaw yawka na meh.  
aw ma daw nya,

III Naw koe hsita, naw ang naw keht hsau.  
pon nyau,

Notice the order, object and predicate.

## 33.

*Chicken gha yaci ia  
Two ni (ma) nyi (maw) ra (moo)  
Have you chickens ? (I) have two.*

I Naw gha caw la ? Nima caw ve.

II Naw' yaci jaw le lo ? Nyima jaw ma.

III Koe' : ia mai : leh ? Koe ramoo.

Frequently where we use the plural noun these peoples  
use singular : as above.

(I) Plural is formed by suffix *hu*—as *yamyihu*, “wo-  
men”.

(II) Plural is formed by suffix *htijoo*, *htibawn*—as  
*thsawha htijoo*, “men” or *thsawha hitbawn* “men”.

(III) Plural is formed by suffix *ki* or *Hkangki*—as  
*pooi hkangki*, “men”.

When a noun is qualified by a numeral adjective—definite

or indefinite the singular form of the noun is usually used ; *ghanima*, "two chickens".

The numeral auxiliary (I) *ma*, (II) *maw*, and (III) *moo* varies according to the nature of the noun which the numeral modifies.

(a) *Adjectives qualifying persons take numeral auxiliary*

	gha	gha	kau
Two persons	Chaw nigha	Chawha	Pooi rakau
		nyigha	
Three women	Yamyi	Zamiza	Boon loe kau
	shehgha	hsoomgha	

(b) Qualifying *things* in many cases take (I) *leh* with the numeral *sheh*—three, and *awn*—four ; *ma* with the other numerals. (II) *hoom*, and (III) *moo*.

Two water	ika poon nima	oocoo bawng	poong rawm
	pails	kur nyihoom	ramoo
Three doors	Yehmi	lagho	hsiveh loemoo
	shehle	shoomhoom	

(c) Qualifying *animals* take——

	hkeh	maw	moo
Two bullocks	noo nihkeh	maungne	moie ramoo
		nyimaw	
Three hogs	va : shehhkeh	aya hsoom	lik loemoo
		maw	

(d) Qualifying *birds* take

	ma, or leh	maw	moo
Two birds	nga : nima	aji nyimaw	hsim ramoo
Three	gha shehle	yaci	ia loemoo
	chickens	hsoommaw	

(e) Qualifying *long and comparatively narrow or slender things* take

	ca :	ca :	nyaing
Two strings	ahkeh nica :	aca : nyica :	mao' ranyaing
Three rattans	gawne shehca :	durhoom-	mao' hsau
		hsoomca :	loenyaing
Two roads	yakaw nica :	gama	kra ranyaing
		nihkaung	

(f) Qualifying *timber that has been cut*

hteh	hkaw	nge
------	------	-----

*Two logs* tser: nihteh miza nyi hki range  
(short) htoom

*Three bamboos* va' shehhteh zabaw hsoom loenge  
(short) htoom

(II) if *short pieces*, adjective takes "htoom" instead of "hkaw", or "hkaung".

(g) Qualifying *flat things*

ba' bla pla  
*Two boards* tser: ba' niba' htebla nyibla hpia rapla  
*Three slates* hapghaba' hkalolobla hpiahsimao  
shehba' hsoombla loepla

(h) Qualifying *round things* shi shi lon, or  
moo hence fruits and vegetables

*Two stones* hapghushi hkalo nyishi hsimao ralon  
nishi

*Three spheres* awshi shehshi zaung daw ni lole loelon  
nyishi

*Two potatoes* yayishi nishi yayimaung- yangyi ramoo  
cher nyishi

*Three pumpkins* hpghumushi madehshi plibi loemoo  
shehshi hsoomshi

(i) Qualifying *parts of the body*

pa hplaw hkawn  
*Two hands* lasheh nipa ala nyi-hplaw tai rahkawn  
*Three ears* napaw shehpa nabaw yaok loehkawn  
hsoomhplaw

(j) Qualifying *names of clothing*

hko: hkawn hpun  
*Two coats* apo nihko: hpehxaung hsimbe rahpun  
nyihkaung  
*Three trousers* ha shehhko: ladi hkla: loehpun  
hsoomhkaung

(k) Many adjectives take an auxiliary corresponding to the last syllable of the noun which the adjective qualifies.

*Two bamboo sprouts* va'too nitoo able nyible plaung  
o:raplaung  
*Three halves* awhko nihko apa hsoompa nge loenge

(l) Qualifying *paper and books*

	ko :	ta	pla
<i>Two books</i>	li : niko ;	hsurbo nyita	lai rapla
<i>Three papers</i>	htawghur	hsurgho	ce loepla
	shehko :	hsoomta	

(m) The auxiliary is frequently the same as the noun which the adjective qualifies. Not always so in (III) when it is in (I) and (II).

<i>Two years</i>	hkaw nihkaw	ako nyiko	noom ranoom
<i>Three houses</i>	yeh sheh yeh	yoom	nyeh loelang
		hsoomyoom	
<i>Four days</i>	nyi awnnyi	naung	pon hsingai
		ernaung	
<i>Five dishes</i>	hkeh ngahkeh	hkoom ma	klong
		ngahkoom	hpoanpla

(n) The auxiliary with *sun and moon* same as (h)

*Two moons*

(months)	hapa nishi	bala nyishi	hki ramoo
<i>One sun</i>	mvernyi teshi	naung ma	hsingai temoo
		htishi	

The auxiliary may denote a difference in meaning. *Mvernyi teshi* is "one sun" but *mvernyi tenyi* is "one day" also in (III) *hsingai temoo* is "one sun", but *te hsingai* is "one day." Also compare the next two phrases with (f) above.

<i>Three trees</i>	tser: shehceh	abaw	hkae loegaw
		hsoombaw	
<i>Two bamboos (standing not cut down)</i>	va' nicheh	zabaw	o:ragaw
		nyihkaung	
<i>Two groups bamboos</i>	va' nipfer	zabaw nyibaw	o:rapaung
<i>Two long bamboos</i>	Va' nicaw'	zabaw	o:lang
		nyihkaung	ragawng
<i>Two long posts</i>	hkudaw	xerzur	rong ralang
	nicaw'	nyikaung or	
		nyizur	

Compare these last two sentences with (f) above.



If one does not know what auxiliary to use it is safe to use the auxiliaries for "things" in general *ma* or *leh* for (I), *hoom* (II), and *moo* (III) : see (b) above.

The speaker will be understood in most instances, if he uses these auxiliaries.

It may be well to insert the numerals here. In the Kengtung school are Lahoo, Ahka, Wa, Lalo, Sam htun, Yunnanese, and Shan pupils. Numerals have been obtained from these in their own dialects. The teachers are Karens, Burmese and Shans. They have transliterated their own numerals. All are here inserted as they are of interest for comparison.

SHAN	LALO	AHKA	YUNNANESE	LAHOO	HSAMHTUN	WA	PWO-KAREN	S. KAREN	BURMESE
1 Nung	hte	hti	yi	to	ti	ti	ker	tet	tit
2 Hsawng	un	nyi	lian	nyi	ra	ra	ni	chi	nhit
3 Hsam	hsaw	hsoom	shan	shesh	loe	loe	therng	ther	thong
4 Hsi	li	er	tser	aw	poon	pon	li	lue	le
5 Ha	ngaw	nga	woo	nga	hpoon	hpoan	yai	yeh	nga
6 Hok	hko :	ko :	loo	hkaw :	lia	lia	xoo	xu	chaok
7 Sit	hu :	shi	chi	ser	alia	alia	nwi	nwi	hkone
8 Piet	heh :	yeh :	pa	hi	sadai	hsindai	xo	xu :	she :
9 Kao	ku	gher	cioo	kaw :	sadin	hsimim	hkwi	hkwe	ko
10 Hsipnung	che	thse	chser	techi	ko	kao	kerhsi	t'hsiler	thseh
11 Hsipit	chhte	thset :	chseryi	techte	hsipit	kaoti	kerhsi	hsiler	hschitt
12 Hsiphawng	cheun	thsenyi	chserur	techiniyi	hsip hsaung	kaora	kerhsini	hsichi	hschnhit
20 Hsaonung	unce	nithse	urchser	nichi	hsaonung	tinga	nihsse	chihsi	nhithseh
21 Hsao it	uncehte	nithsehti	urchseryi	nichite	hsaoti	tingati	nihsiler	chihsefer	nhithschitt
22 hsaohsawng	unceun	nithsenyi	urchserur	nichini	hsaohsawng	tingara	nihsini	chihsichi	nherhsch
30 Hsamhsip	hsawche	hsoomthse	shanchser	shehchi	hsamhsip	tigoe	thernghsi	therhsi	thongzeh
40 Hshsip	liche	erthse	tser chser	awnchi	hsihsip	ripon	lishi	luehsi	lezeh
50 Hahsip	ngawche	ngathse	woochser	ngachi	hahsip	rihpooon	yaihsi	yehhsi	ngazeh
60 Hokhsip	hkoche	kothe	loo "	hkawchi	hokhsip	tigla	xoohsi	xuhsi	chaoheh
70 Sit hsip	huche	shithse	chi "	serchi	sithsip	atigla	nwihsi	nwihsi	hkoonhnit
80 Piethsip	heheche	yehthse	pa "	hichi	piethsip	ridai	xonsi	xawhsi	shithseh
90 Kaohsip	kuche	gherthse	cioo "	kawchi	kaohsip	ridim	hkwihsi	hkwihsi	kozeh
100 paknung	tehaw	atiya	yipuri	teha	tireya	riyeh	kaya	t'k'ya	ti ya
101 Pak pai it	tehaw : hte	atiya	yipuri	tebate	tireyati	riyehi	kayaker	t'k'yater	t'nyatet
200 Hsawngpak	unhaw	htmya ati :	lianpur	niha	rareya	rariyeh	niya	chik ya	ht'nyata
1000 Hingnung	thing	thihi	yichin	tehin	tuhng	tuhng	kahto	t'k'hto	t'htawng

## 34.

*Have you boys?**I have three.*

I Naw yapa caw la?

Nga yapa shehgha caw ve.

II Naw' a li jaw le lo?

Nga ali hsoomgha jaw ma.

III Koe kawn nyawm hsime Kawn au: koe loe kau.  
mai: leh?

(III) *kawn* means "child" (son or daughter), *nyawm* means "small" when used with persons; *iak*—meaning "small" is used with things.

(II) To represent "have" *jaw* is used if subject is animate, if not *ja* is used, see sentence 9.

(III) *hsime* indicates "male", is used with persons, chickens, and sometimes with other birds, *maihn* is used with animals and some birds.

## 35.

*Hog* va aya or aza lik*Sell* hawn aung co*Have you hogs to sell?* *I have four, will sell one.*I Naw va hawn too caw la? Nga va awnhkeh caw ve,  
tehkeh hawn (ga) ve.II Naw' aza aung ur jaw le lo? Nga' aya ermaw jaw ma,  
htimaw aung (maw) ma.III Koe lik hsang co mai: Au:koe lik pon moo hsang co  
leh? temoo.

## 36.

*House* yeh yoom nyeh*Owner or Agent*

shehppa yawhsawn cao'

*Arise* too htoo kao*Is the owner of house (here)?* *Yes, He is, (but) has not yet risen.*I Yeh shehpha cheh la? Yo, yaw cheh ve yo, yahka  
yaw ma too she.II Yoom yaw hsawng jaw a lo? Ngur meh, yaw jaw meh,  
kawni mahtoo a shi.III Ot cao' nyeh leh? U:, ot naw, viangmaw nan  
ang nyang kao.

## 37.

*Soon* amver (or amur or amu) tehku nyino hsivoot  
*tehku* means "one moment"; *mver* means "to be" as in  
*cheh ku mver ku*—"dwelling place" (literally place—*ku*—to  
 be, place to be).

*Is he coming (actually now) (He is) not coming, soon will  
 coming)?* *come.*

- |     |                      |  |
|-----|----------------------|--|
| I   | Yaw la cheh la ?     | Ma la she, amu tehku la ve.            |
| II  | Ayaw la loo meh lo ? | Ma la shi, nyino la meh.               |
| III | Oet hoet naw leh ?   | Ang nyang hoet, hsivoot<br>(naw) hoet. |

(III) in sentence 30 "*kawn—pot*" was used to indicate the  
 continuative, here the idiom is *oet* and seems to have the  
 idea "has he started to come"?

## 38.

*Is he coming? (Does he in- He cannot come, is sick.  
 tend to come?)*

- |     |                  |                           |
|-----|------------------|---------------------------|
| I   | Yaw la la ?      | Yaw la ma ga, yaw na: ve. |
| II  | Ayaw la meh lo ? | Ayaw na meh, ma la nya.   |
| III | Hoet naw leh ?   | Naw hsau, ang pon hoet.   |

## 39.

<i>Mud</i>	mehghoo	laung ya	glao
<i>Deep</i>	na	na	htom or rao

*Is the road good? The road is not good, mud  
 is deep.*

- |     |                   |                                   |
|-----|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| I   | Yahkaw da la ?    | Yahkaw ma da, meghoo na<br>ve.    |
| II  | Gama yawmu a lo ? | Gama ma mu, laung ya yaw<br>na a. |
| III | Mawm kra leh ?    | Kra ang mawm, glao htom.          |

## 40.

<i>Can</i>	hpeh	nya	ci
<i>Boards</i>	tser	htebila	hkao
<i>How</i>	hkahkehte	alogheh	yookamaw

*How can I make a house? (I) have no boards.*

- I Tser: ma caw, hkahkete  
 yeh te hpeh le ?

- II Htebla ma ja, alogheh  
yoom jaung nya a ?
- III Hkao ang koe, ci yoo  
nyeh yooka maw ?

## 41.

- |              |        |          |        |
|--------------|--------|----------|--------|
| <i>Ride</i>  |        | zi or ji |        |
| <i>River</i> | lawka  | lawba    | klawng |
| <i>Deep</i>  | na     | yawna    | rau    |
| <i>Cross</i> | hkan   | zeh      | tiang  |
| <i>Raft</i>  | peghaw | hper     | kram   |
- How can I cross, the water of river is deep? You can cross on a raft.*
- I Ika lawka nave, hkah-  
kate hkan ga' le? Naw peghaw kai leh hkan  
ga' ve.
- II Oocoo lawba yawna, Hper zi aneh i ana seh nya  
alogheh oocoo seh nya teha.  
le?
- III Rawm klawng rau, yoo- Mai: yoo kram tiang rawm.  
kamaw ci tiang?

## 42.

- |                      |        |          |       |
|----------------------|--------|----------|-------|
| <i>Elephant</i>      | haw    | yama     | hsang |
| <i>Ride</i>          | ci     | ji or zi | brook |
| <i>Road</i>          | yahkaw | gama     | ...   |
| <i>Feet</i>          | ...    | ...      | caong |
| <i>Walk</i>          | joo    | zo       | ...   |
| <i>Ablative sign</i> | ...    | ...      | ka    |
- How did you come, walking or riding an elephant?*
- I Hkakhete la le, yahkaw Nga mver ci la ve.  
joo la la, haw ci la la?
- II Naw' alo la a le, gama Nga maung ji la a le.  
zo a le lo?
- III Hoet yoo mai: kamaw, Au: brook broong hoet.  
hoo mai: ka caong ti  
leh, brook mai: hsang  
hoet leh?

## 43.

<i>Town</i>	hka	hpoo	yaong
<i>How far</i>	hkafu	anani or	mehglang
		amaungni	

*How far is the town?*      *The town is three days (march) distant (far).*

- I Hka hkafu caw le?      Hka shehnyi vu she.  
 II Hpoo anani hka (far) a?      Hpoo hsoom naung hka a shi.  
 III Yaong koe mehglang?      Yaong koe loe hsingai.

## 44.

*Perhaps (including that the speaker thinks it is)*

(I) heh, or she (II) shi (III) kawn

*The town is far, is it not?*      *Yes, the town is very far.*

- I Hka hkafu caw heh le?      Yo, hka vu ja ve.  
 II Hpoo anani hka a shi le?      Ngur meh, hpoo yawka hka meh.  
 III Yaong kawn koe mehglang?      U, yaong keht hsingai.

## 45.

<i>How large</i>	hkahu u	ahuni	mehding
<i>Post</i>	hkudaw	xerzur	rong
<i>Span (of thumb and finger)</i>	htoo	hto	deh

*How large is the post?*      *The post is four spans (in circumference).*

- I Hkudaw hkahu u le?      Hkudaw awn htoo u ve.  
 II Xerzur ahuni aung a?      Xerzur er hto ja meh.  
 III Koe rong mehding?      Rong koe pon deh.

## 46.

<i>Bamboo</i>	va'	zabaw	o:
<i>How long</i>	hka ser	amaungni	mehglang
<i>Cubit</i>	ja:	ja	hsawk

*How long is the bamboo?*      *The bamboo is five cubits.*

- I Va' hkaser caw le?      Va' nga ja: caw ve.  
 II Zabaw amaungni a?      Zabaw nga ja ja meh.  
 III Koe o: mehglang?      O: hpoan hsawk.

## 47.

*How long (time)*

	hkamaw	amlaung	mehgrung
<i>Year</i>	hkaw	ko	noom
<i>Month</i>	hapa	bala	hki
<i>And</i>	leh	hawur	mai

*How long were you in Kengtung? Two years and seven months was (there).*

- I Naw mung Hkung hka- Nibkaw leh hapa serma  
maw cheh le? chehve.
- II Naw mur Hkur aung a Nyiko hawur sishi jaw a le.  
mlaung ni jaw a le?
- III Ot mai: mung Cheng- Ot de ranoom mai aliahki.  
toon mehgrung?

The conjunctions—(and)—*leh*, *hawur*, and *mai* are used mostly for connecting nouns. They are usually omitted where we use "and" to connect sentences or clauses.

## 48.

<i>How many</i>	hkani	amya	meh
<i>Day</i>	nyi	naung	hsingai
<i>Work (make)</i>	te	jaung	yoo
<i>Work (n)</i>	mawteve	mlaw oom a ur	kaing
<i>Arrive, get to</i>	ga	kur	...
<i>How many days have you I have worked nine days. worked?</i>			

- I Naw mawteve hkani nyi Nga mawteve kaw' nyi ga'  
ga pur le? pur ve.
- II Naw mlawoomaur amya Nga' mlawoomaur gher naung  
naung kur a meh? kur i a meh.
- III Yoo mai: kaing koe meh Au: yoo kaing koe hsindim  
ngai? hsingai.

I and II somewhat literally translated—"As to your work, how many days have come to be—(I) *ga*; (II) *kur*—completed *pur*?"

III The days you have done work are—*koe*—how many? Notice that the word for day is abbreviated in the question.

## THE LAHOO NARRATIVE OF CREATION.

BY REV. C. B. ANTISDEL, M.A., B.D.

The writer wishes to acknowledge the great assistance of the Rev. Mr. Bate in the collection of the narratives from which the following account is compiled.

The Lahoo people attribute the creation of all things to a Being whom they call Ghusha. Again and again in their folk-lore they say "if Ghusha had not created this, it would not be."

"There is nothing that has not been created by Ghusha,

"His brightness shines in all the heavens,

"His glory shines in all the earth."

But as the immediate creative agency they personify two words—Daw and Ga—each meaning to think, to plan, and say "Adaw" and "Aga" created this and that. In communications between Ghusha and man, Adaw and Aga are represented as the interlocutors. (In creation are Adaw and Aga the personification of "reason" the "Logos"?)

"Formerly there was no heaven

"Formerly there was no earth.

"Ghusha, he planned (daw)

"Ghusha, he thought (ga)

"Ghusha planned sitting, he wore out three chairs,

"Ghusha planned standing, he wore out three pairs of shoes,

"Ghusha planned lying down, he wore out three sheets."

Evidently they thought of Ghusha as a person, he is also referred to as sleeping, for when a deputation was sent to heaven to obtain power to heal the sick Ghusha was asleep and had to be awakened by the beating of drums.

"These offerings bring we

"And put them into the hands of Adaw



"Lay them at the feet of Aga

"Then are we admitted within the doors of Ghusha's abode.

"Ghusha sleeps, he does not turn his face to us.

"What shall we bring, what shall we do ?

"Oh, there is the handiwork of the smith.

"Nine silver flowers (gongs) are brought;

"Nine rounds we go about the doors of Ghusha.

"The sound of the drums resounds to heaven,

"The sleeping Ghusha has turned his face.

"Then Ghusha begins to speak."

To return to the creation—Adaw made heaven touching the earth and Aga made the earth touching heaven. Adaw and Aga took the hands and feet of Ghusha as pattern for the skeleton of the earth and filled in the skeleton even as flesh covers the bones. Adaw created heaven a little too small, Aga created the earth a little too large, so strings were attached to the four corners of the earth and drawn, thus forming hills and vales. But the earth was without beauty; so rocks and stones were put in and

"The hills in their beauty shone"

The birds had no dwelling place, nor the beasts a resting place; so seeds of plants and trees were sown and when they sprang up the birds sang for joy. But there was no water to satisfy their thirst so Ghusha took black and white silk to the four corners of heaven and to the four corners of earth, and heavens were filled with clouds black and white. Ghusha joined heaven and earth, with gold and silver steps, down which silver and golden water rippled from the fingers and toes of Ghusha as he ascended and descended.

A well called, Nawng Shehn Nawng Maw, was dug.

(This well is supposed to be located between the Salwen and Mekong rivers in the vicinity of their sources.)

The well filled and the water arose even to heaven. Although Adaw and Aga made four water paths on the earth, the water would not flow until Ghusha had ornamented them with gold and silver bells. Then the water

rippled down the four large water courses to the four corners of the earth. The clouds were sorrowful that Ghusha had not established the seasons, cold and warm.

"Three days and three nights Ghusha thought about it.

"Seven suns came out from the tips of his fingers

"Thence came also the seven moons.

"The sun bears the duties of day

"The moon, the duties of night."

Ghusha threw of the stars from the pores of his fingers.

There is a sun and moon tree

"That shines three days and three cycles of years,

It shines as the glory of Ghusha."

"And whatever place Aga thinketh of

There shines the light of that tree.

Underneath this sun and moon there grows a plant of healing.

Round about the Nawng Shen Nawng Maw Lake were the banyan trees which Ghusha had created. One root became a python, another root a dragon. As they had no beauty they lay in the paths of Ghusha and would not follow the courses of the waters until Ghusha had adorned their heads with gold and silver. When the leaf of a banyan tree was plucked it became a squirrel; when a limb was broken off it became an elephant.

From another account we learn that from what remained of the material used for making the skeleton and filling of the earth, the bones and flesh of the mule were made. But the mule would not go, (the creation was a mere image, without life). So Adaw took the strength of the earth and put it into the mule for strength and the mule "moved" (life had been imparted).

After the creation of heaven and earth Ghusha took of the earth and created Man—Chaw Ti and woman—Va Si—and put "strength of earth into them" (that is imparted life). But man being without beauty was sorrowful, so he took loohéh leaves and clothed himself. Then Adaw and Aga gave him the seeds of silk and cotton, pieces of iron and of copper (for making implements). Man had not yet been given seeds of food plants and ate clay only. A messenger

having its mouth tipped with iron and copper went thrice daily to the land of Ghusha and reported that man had almost eaten up the hills and the dales : so Ghusha sent food seeds to man who sowed them on the plains of Napu Pahka where the pigs and wild bullocks had wallowed. Man wanted to tame the lowing kine for his service, so he coaxed them with salt and they obeyed his will. Adaw and Aga then taught man how to raise grain and said :

“ Even when you do not see the face of Adaw and Aga  
You shall cultivate grain for a remembrance of Adaw  
and Aga.”

“ Fertile is the soil of Napu

“ Plenteous is the yield of grain

“ Bins of gold and silver were erected

“ And in these bins of gold and silver were stored the  
grains.

“ And these grains shone in beauty,

“ Reflecting the glory of Ghusha.”

The produce of one year could not be consumed in three.

In those early days two cultivators, CaPeh and CaNoo, robbed Ghusha by not making offerings of fruits of the harvest. Ghusha became angry and hid the sun and the moon ; great darkness that covered the earth so they could not till the soil. CaPeh and CaNoo schemed and tied pine torches on the horns of the bullocks that dragged the plough. Thus they were able to raise food and escaped death. Ghusha then sent three suns and three moon CaPeh and CaNoo, to ward off the intense heat, wore seven hats when working ; and sought refuge in an iron cage when at rest. Ghusha then sent seven suns and seven moons which set the earth on fire and caused the water to boil until it reached to heaven. A brother and a sister entered a gourd and floated on the surface of the water. Ghusha lifted his head and looked from heaven but could not see man nor hear woman (in the gourd). So Ghusha sent a fly but it could not track man. Ghusha then sent a bee which found man, returned and reported to Ghusha that man was at the juncture of seven rivers and seven hills. Ghusha then sent a sparrow, it went to the gourd and pecked but could not

open it. Ghusha then sent a mouse which succeeded in opening the gourd and freeing man.

The confusion of tongues, the dispersion of the peoples, the prophecies of re-union, and the blessings to follow through deliverance, after the "Book" of Ghusha, which has been lost, shall have been restored to them &c., must await later treatment.

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## SOME ANTHROPOMETRIC DATA OF THE TALAINGS.

BY B. HOUGHTON, B.A., M.R.A.S., F.A.I., I.C.S.

The subjoined measurements were made by a Burman under my directions seven years ago in the Amherst District and they represent so far as I am aware the only ones yet made on the Talaing or Môn race. Care was taken to avoid so far as possible any persons of Burmese or Indian blood—the Chaungzon township contains some of the purest strains of the old Talaing stock—but apart from this consideration no attempt was made to discriminate in favour of specially good specimens, the men being measured just as they came. They were for the most part peasants from the country villages.

The Ethnographic Appendices attached to the last (India) Census Report are remarkably deficient in Mongoloid Data. The average cephalic index obtained for the Talaings 85·7 is slightly higher than any shown in those tables but is closely approached by that (84·3) of the Chakma of Rangamati, and of the Limbu Ghurkas. The nasal index (77) also differs but slightly from that (74) of the latter tribe.

It is much to be desired that Anthropometrical data on a definite system should be collected in respect of not only the Burmese, but also of the numerous other nations and tribes included within the geographical boundaries of the Province of Burma. One suspects that one result of such a survey would be to demonstrate a higher degree of brachycephaly amongst the Talaing than amongst the Burmese proper, and a much greater proportion of the former stock in Lower Burma than that assigned in the Census Tables. All this is however mere surmise. The colours of eye and skin were marked according to samples given in "Notes and Queries on Anthropology." As might be expected there was great uniformity in this respect.

The graphic seriation of cephalic index attached to the data shows, it will be noticed, two separate peaks, such a

phenomenon is sometimes indicative of a mixed race. In the present case however the two peaks are hardly sufficiently separated to justify such an inference, nor as a matter of fact is the total of data collected adequate for nice distinctions of this description.

### SUMMARY.

Proportions of Head.		Proportions of Nose.
Average,	85·7	77.
Maximum,	93·9	102 5.
Minimum,	77·9	62 2.
Range,	14	40·3

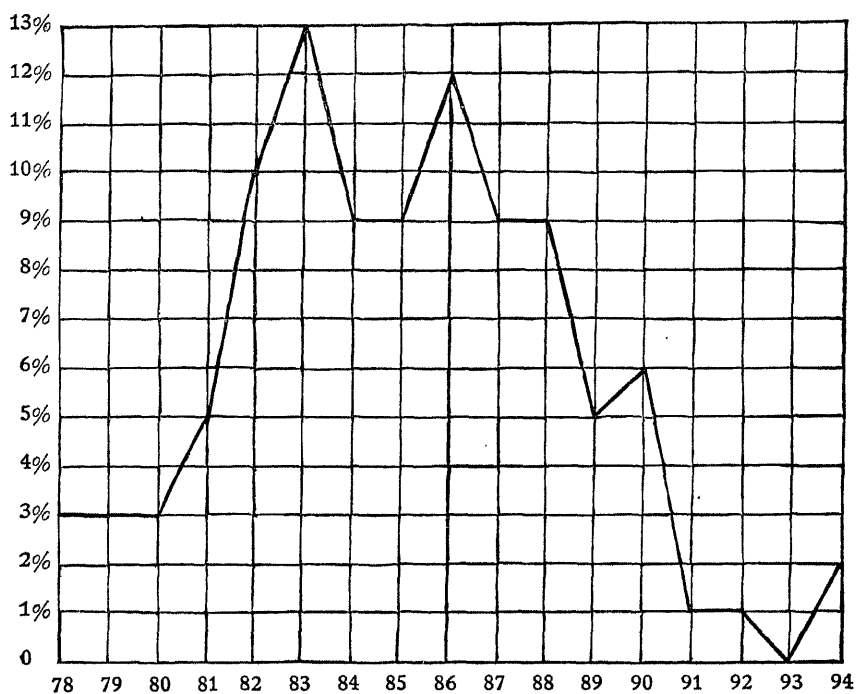
# MEASUREMENTS.

Number.	Name.	Township where born.	HEAD.		NOSE.		Colour of Skin.	Colour of Eyes.	INDICIES.			
			Length.	Breadth.	Length.	Breadth.			Cephalic.	Nasal.		
1	Mg. Shwe Ok	Chaungzon	17	3 14	5	5	3	9	4	80.8	70.8	
2	Mg. Ngôn	"	18	15 1	4	7	3	8	4	83.8	80.8	
3	Mg. Ngo	"	17	4 14	7	3	9	4	4	84.4	102.5	
4	Mg. Bein Du	"	18	1 16	5	3	7	4	4	88.4	74.0	
5	Mg. Yauk	"	17	3 15	4	8	3	9	4	86.7	87.2	
6	Mg. Yeik	"	17	3 15	1	4	3	7	4	87.2	86.0	
7	Mg. Yon	"	16	7 14	3	8	3	7	4	85.6	97.3	
8	Mg. Gauk	"	17	14 3	4	1	3	4	4	84.1	73.1	
9	Mg. Nè	"	17	1 13	9	4	7	3	5	4	81.2	74.4
10	Mg. Gaing	"	17	9 14	6	4	3	3	4	81.5	76.7	
11	Mg. Hmun	"	18	1 15	1	4	8	3	7	4	83.4	77.1
12	Mg. Mè Dôn	"	18	6 15	1	4	5	4	3	4	80.1	95.5
13	Mg. Kye	"	18	1 14	5	4	7	4	4	80.1	85.1	
14	Mg. Dun	"	17	1 14	3	5	1	3	8	4	83.6	79.5
15	Mg. Zin	"	17	8 15	4	5	3	9	4	84.2	86.6	
16	Mg. Mè	"	18	9 14	8	4	1	3	9	4	78.3	95.1
17	Mg. Kamun	"	16	9 14	6	4	5	3	7	4	86.3	82.2
18	Mg. Hla	"	18	1 15	5	4	3	3	9	4	85.6	90.7
19	Mg. Yon	"	17	6 15	1	4	2	3	2	4	85.8	76.2
20	Mg. Pè	"	17	4 14	2	4	4	3	5	4	81.6	79.5
21	Mg. Paw	"	16	9 14	8	4	1	3	1	4	87.5	75.6
22	Mg. Lun	"	17	5 15	3	4	3	4	4	87.4	100.0	
23	Mg. Ba	"	18	3 15	2	4	7	3	8	4	85.0	80.8
24	Oung Myat	"	16	9 14	8	4	2	3	6	4	87.5	85.7
25	Shwe Yin	"	17	2 14	7	4	4	3	7	4	85.4	84.1
26	Mg. Du	"	17	6 15	1	3	9	3	7	4	88.8	94.8
27	Pan Hlaing	"	18	2 14	3	4	9	3	6	4	78.5	73.4
28	Mg. Gyi	"	17	9 15	2	4	2	3	4	4	84.9	80.9
29	Shwe fhin	"	17	8 15	4	8	3	8	4	84.2	79.2	
30	Mg. Pan E	"	16	5 15	5	4	7	3	5	4	93.9	78.7
31	Mg. Nyein	"	17	8 14	8	4	5	2	8	4	83.1	62.2
32	Ngwe Zin	"	17	4 15	2	4	8	3	1	4	87.3	64.0
33	Pan Hlaing	"	17	8 15	2	5	3	5	4	85.4	70.0	
34	Pan Auk	"	18	15 4	4	5	3	1	4	85.5	68.9	
35	Tun Mg.	"	16	9 15	2	4	3	6	4	89.9	83.7	
36	Chit Tun	"	17	2 15	4	4	2	3	4	89.5	71.4	
37	Hla Maung	"	17	14 4	4	6	3	3	4	84.7	71.7	
38	Mg. Da	"	17	4 14	2	4	3	3	9	4	81.6	90.7
39	Mg. Gyauk	"	18	3 15	2	4	4	3	4	83.0	75.0	
40	Mg. Yin	"	17	4 15	6	4	8	3	6	4	89.6	75.0
41	Tha Yin	"	18	2 15	1	4	7	3	7	4	82.9	78.7
42	Mg. Du	"	18	15 1	4	3	3	7	4	83.9	86.0	
43	Lun Tha	"	18	1 15	2	4	5	3	1	4	83.9	68.8
44	Shwe Lok Gyi	"	17	15 1	4	4	3	5	4	88.8	79.5	
45	Mg. Kin	"	17	3 15	1	4	7	3	6	4	87.2	76.6
46	Chit Tun	"	18	3 14	4	6	3	5	4	78.7	76.1	
47	Mg. Lè	"	17	3 15	3	4	3	6	4	88.4	83.7	
48	Mg. Bin	"	18	7 15	1	4	3	2	4	80.7	74.4	
49	Mg. Sein	"	17	9 15	4	4	1	2	5	4	86.0	70.7
50	Ta Dut	"	17	3 14	2	4	7	3	1	4	82.0	65.9

Number.	Name.	Township where born.	HEAD.		NOSE.		Colour of Skin.	Colour of Eyes.	INDICIES.					
			Length.	Breadth.	Length.	Breadth.			Cephalic.	Nasal.				
51	Aung Myat	Chaungzon	17	9	14	8	4	9	3	1	4	A	82.7	63.2
52	Mg. Shun	"	17	8	14	9	4	7	3	3	4	A	83.7	70.2
53	Mg. Tha Lo	"	17	1	14	9	4	5	3	1	4	A	87.1	68.8
54	Mg. Gun	"	17	5	14	2	4	3	3	1	4	A	81.1	72.1
55	Mg. Nyin	"	17	6	14	6	4	3	2	9	4	A	82.9	67.4
56	Mg. Zin	"	16	5	14	7	4	2	3	5	4	A	89.1	83.3
57	Mg. Thè	"	17	6	14	6	5	1	3	8	4	A	82.9	74.5
58	Mg. Go	"	17	8	14	6	4	9	3	7	4	A	82.0	75.5
59	Mg. Kin	"	17	7	14	8	4	4	3	1	4	A	83.0	70.4
60	Mg. Myo	"	16	6	15	.	4	2	3	1	4	A	90.3	73.8
61	Mg. In	"	18	1	15	3	4	3	3	6	4	A	84.5	83.7
62	Mg. Lun	"	18	1	14	1	4	5	3	7	4	A	77.9	82.2
63	Mg. Paing	"	18	4	15	2	4	6	3	3	4	A	82.6	71.7
64	Mg. Saw	"	18	1	15	7	4	4	4	2	4	A	86.7	95.4
65	Tha U	"	17	.	15	1	4	7	3	6	4	A	88.8	76.6
66	Mg. Pôn	"	17	1	15	4	4	2	3	5	4	A	90.0	83.3
67	Mg. Daung	"	18	1	15	.	4	6	2	9	4	A	82.8	63.0
68	Mg. Lin	"	18	6	14	6	4	7	3	2	4	A	78.5	68.1
69	Chit Tun	"	18	1	15	1	5	.	3	2	4	A	83.4	64.8
70	Shwe Ko	"	18	4	15	.	4	1	3	5	4	A	81.5	85.3
71	Mg. Nyun	"	17	2	14	3	4	4	3	4	4	A	83.1	77.3
72	Mg. Bwa	"	18	.	14	9	5	4	3	3	4	A	82.8	75.0
73	Mg. Cho	"	17	8	15	4	4	1	2	7	4	A	86.5	65.8
74	Mg. Nè Nin	"	17	7	15	.	4	3	3	3	4	A	84.7	76.7
75	Mg. Shaikgale	"	17	2	15	5	4	1	3	.	4	A	90.1	73.2
76	Mg. Kun Ti	"	17	7	15	6	4	4	2	8	4	A	88.1	63.6
77	Mg. Ngè	"	17	4	14	9	4	9	3	2	4	A	85.6	65.3
78	Mg. Zin	"	16	9	15	.	4	5	2	6	4	A	88.7	57.7
79	Mg. U	"	16	6	15	1	4	1	2	7	4	A	90.9	65.8
80	Mg. Yit	"	18	5	15	1	4	7	2	9	4	A	81.6	61.7
81	Mg. Tun Hla	"	17	3	14	7	4	3	3	4	4	A	84.9	79.0
82	Mg. Tun	"	17	2	15	1	4	6	3	2	4	A	87.7	69.5
83	Thein Maung	"	17	3	15	2	4	1	3	6	4	A	87.8	87.8
84	Shwe De	"	17	6	15	5	4	5	3	4	4	A	88.0	75.5
85	Mg. But	"	18	1	14	8	3	9	3	5	4	A	81.7	89.7
86	Na Dut	"	17	1	14	6	4	3	3	1	4	A	85.4	72.1
87	Mg. Kun	"	17	3	15	2	4	4	3	2	4	A	87.8	72.7
88	Mg. Pyit	"	18	1	15	3	4	9	3	2	4	A	84.5	65.3
89	Mg. Pan U	"	18	5	14	8	4	4	3	7	4	A	80.0	84.1
90	Mg. Mya	"	18	2	14	2	4	4	3	2	4	A	78.0	72.7
91	Mg. Lugale	"	17	5	14	2	4	9	4	.	4	A	81.1	81.6
92	Mg. Kyin	"	17	3	16	2	4	5	3	2	4	A	93.6	71.1
93	Mg. Ni	"	17	7	14	5	4	6	3	4	4	A	81.9	73.9
94	Mg. Kyin	"	17	1	15	7	4	1	3	1	4	A	91.8	75.3
95	Tun Tha	"	17	7	15	1	4	7	3	5	4	A	85.3	74.4
96	Mg. Bu	"	18	5	15	9	4	1	3	2	4	A	85.9	78.0
97	Mg. Ut	"	18	2	15	9	3	9	3	2	4	A	87.3	82.0
98	Mg. Pa	"	17	8	15	9	4	5	3	2	4	A	89.3	71.1
99	Ba On	"	17	6	15	2	4	8	3	3	4	A	86.3	68.7
100	Shwe Se	"	17	3	14	2	4	6	3	3	4	A	82.1	71.7
101	Mg. Bya	"	17	5	14	1	4	.	4	7	4	A	80.5	11.7



Percentage.    SERIATION OF CEPHALIC INDEX  
—TALAINGS.—



## KAREN FOLK-LORE, I. THE LEGEND OF TAW-MÈ-PA.

BY THE REV. DAVID GILMORE, M. A.

In any presentation of Karen folk-lore, the legend of Taw-mè-pa must needs be in the forefront, as it is by far the most popular one among the Karens. Its theme is a common one in the legends of many races and religions—a hero of the olden times who is still alive somewhere and is expected to appear as a deliverer in the hour of his people's need. Aside from its merits as a tale, this story has a two-fold interest. It has been supposed to shed light on the origin and affinities of the Karen race, and it is always liable to enter as a complicating element into any popular movement arising among the Karens.

We give the story as it was reduced to writing by the late Rev. J. B. Vinton, D. D. The Karen original can be found in a little book of Karen Folk-Lore Tales, published in 1908, by the American Baptist Sgaw Karen Mission, Rangoon.

Long ago there was an old man living at the foot of Thaw-thi-kho Pghaw-ghaw-kho.\*

He was very old. A wild boar came along and ate the standing crops of the old man's children, so that there was fear of famine. The boar was so big and fierce that nobody dared to go near him. But the old man was unhappy because he was old and feeble, and he did not care for his own life. Said he to himself, "If I die I die." The boar had made himself seven lairs, and used to lie hidden in a different place each day. The old man went about thrusting his spear into the boar's lairs one after another, until the boar stirred.

The old man thrust, the boar dodged, and by-and-by the boar died. But the old man was so tired that he could hardly get home, and as for the boar's flesh he couldn't carry home a bit of it.

When the old man got home he told his children that he had got the boar, and bade his sons and sons-in-law go and

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\* The name of a mountain ; see the appended notes, A.

fetch its flesh. Those who went to bring back the flesh sought it everywhere, as the old man had told them, but they could not find its body anywhere. They went back home, and scolded their father, and said, "You could n't get the boar. You were fooling us. We've gone and tired ourselves to death for nothing." But their father scolded them, and said, "You're a pack of children. You're not like men. When the boar was alive you did n't dare to face it, and now it's killed you can't even find its body." Father and sons quarrelled with each other, and it got worse and worse, until they went to the jungle so that the old man might show them the place where he had killed the boar.

When they reached the place and sought for the boar's body, they could not find it. They saw that the boar had grappled with the old man until the blood spurted out, and their footsteps had trodden the ground all into mire. They sought for a long time, and found one boar's tusk. As this boar was a magic boar it could not die. But since the old man had overcome it, some of its magical power had departed, and one of its tusks had fallen out.

This boar's tusk was very unusual; it was white on one side, blue on one side, red on one side. The old man said, "This boar's tusk will be good for something or other," and he took it home. When he got home, he made an ivory comb of it, and took good care of it.

One day while he was sitting with his family his head began to itch, and he wanted to comb his hair. He combed it at once, and although he was very old, he at once became a young man again. They say it was lucky that he combed his hair in front of the company, because if he had become young again while he was behind them, his family would no longer have known him. His wife saw that her husband had become young again, and she combed her head and at once became a young woman again. By means of that comb, death and old age and disease disappeared in that family, and the old man has been called Taw-mè-pa\* until this day.

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\* Father Boar-tusk.

Since there was no more death among the descendants of Taw-mè-pa, they multiplied greatly, and there was no more room for them. Some of them went down to the plains, some went up into the hills, and the various kinds of Karens are descended from him.

The children of Taw-mè-pa multiplied until there was no longer anybody with whom they could intermarry, and they formed alliances with many different races. They intermarried with the Burmans, and gave rise to the Taungthus; they intermarried with the Chinese, and gave rise to the Chinese Shans; they intermarried with natives of India, and gave rise to the Lè-mè Karens.\*

When the children of Taw-mè-pa had become so exceedingly numerous he said, "Land such as this cannot support my children, and I must seek a pleasant country somewhere, where the soil has richness, and we shall get a better reward for our labour." He thought that if he could not find a pleasant country, his children were in danger of being scattered. And this is the way he went to seek for land. "In this land, the earth dug out of a pit won't fill up the pit. See what happens when you bury a man. You put in the dead man's body, coffin and all, but you have to dig some more earth to fill up the grave, every time." Taw-mè-pa determined to seek till he found land where the earth dug out of one pit would fill up seven pits, and to live there. He sought and sought until he came to a sandy river. On this side, the earth dug out of one pit would fill up four pits. He said, "This is a little better, but it's not good enough." And when he crossed over to the other side he found that the earth dug out of one pit would fill up seven pits, and he determined to live there, and he went back to call his children.

His children heard about this pleasant country beyond the sandy river, and followed their father all together. When they reached the sandy river, the descendants of Taw-mè-pa said that they were faint with hunger and could go no further. They asked permission to cook rice and to rest a little while. But Taw-mè-pa said, "Children, the

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\* "A small tribe of Karens north-east of Toungoo." Stevenson.

pleasant country is very near now, as soon as you get there you shall eat your fill." But his children found a lot of screw shells\* and roselles, and though they had never seen them before, the people of the country told them that they were very good to eat, so they did not obey Taw-mè-pa. They boiled some screw shells and roselles. They boiled them and boiled them, and from time to time they tried a shell by pinching it between the thumb and finger. Some said, "It's not soft yet, it's not done yet." Others looked and saw the red juice of the roselles and said, "When will it ever be done? Its blood is still bright red." Taw-mè-pa waited and waited and by-and-by he got cross and said, "I can't wait any longer. I'll go on. I'll blaze a path for you to follow me." But the children of Taw-mè-pa boiled and boiled the screw shells. They boiled them all day, but they didn't get soft; they boiled them all night, but they didn't get soft. At last a party of Chinamen came along and told them, "What you take for blood is the juice of the roselles. This fish has a shell, and you can't make it soft by boiling. You must knock in the point, and suck it." Only then did they eat up the screw shells, and set out to follow Taw-mè-pa.

They went on a bit, and saw that wild plantains had sprung up, some a hand-breadth high, and some a span high. They said to one another. "If these plants have grown up as high as this, Taw-mè-pa has gone such a long way that we shall no longer be able to overtake him." They spoke thus because they had never seen wild plantains before, and did not know that when we cut down wild plantains they quickly spring up again to a great height.

Since Taw-mè-pa had gone on ahead of his children, and taken the magic ivory comb with him, his children, who boiled the screw shells and could n't make them tender, and came back again, (that is to say, we Karens) are subject to sickness and death.

They tell of Taw-mè-pa that he is still alive somewhere on the other side of the sandy river, keeping a close watch on us, his unruly children. When we have been freed from

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\* See note C.

all our sins, Taw-mè-pa will come back for us, and take us to the pleasant land beyond the sandy river. They say that Taw-mè-pa will once again eat the demon feast\* with his children. He will eat a big pig, whose ankles are each seven handbreadths long and whose ribs are each seven cubits long. When Taw-mè-pa again eats the demon feast with his children, they will look one another in the face without being able to understand one another's speech.

NOTE A. MT. THAW-THI-KHO.

This story represents the Karens as originating in the vicinity of a mountain called Thaw-thi-kho. The couplet to this name is Pghaw-ghaw-kho. A short form of the name is Thaw-thi.

The identification of Mt. Thaw-thi is the first point that claims our attention, in investigating the testimony of the story as to the origin of the Karens. Dr. Wade, in his *Sgaw Karen Vocabulary*, defined Thaw-thi as "An imaginary mountain, the Myinmo of the Burmans." The identification of Thaw-thi with Myinmo was a not unnatural conclusion for Dr. Wade to reach, as his service was in Tavoy, Moulmein and Rangoon. The legends of Mt. Thaw-thi that would come to his notice would suggest analogies to Mt. Myinmo, and he might not have learned of the existence of an actual Mt. Thaw-thi in the Toungoo District. General McMahon, in his "Karens of the Golden Chersonese" (p. 243), quotes the following lines which Dr. Mason heard at Tavoy as early as 1840.

"God will come and bring the Great Thaw-thi;  
We must worship, both small and great.  
The great Thaw-thi, God created;  
Let us ascend and worship.  
There is a great mountain in the ford;  
Can you ascend and worrrhip God?  
There is a great mountain in the way;  
Are you able to ascend and worship God?  
You call yourselves the sons of God;  
How many evenings have you ascended to worship God?"

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\* See note D.

You call yourselves the children of God ;  
How often have you ascended to worship God?"

General McMahon also quotes from Dr. Mason a Karen belief in a "Goddess of Fortune," whose home is on the top of mount Thaw-thi.

But the mythology which is associated with Mt. Thaw-thi hardly bears Dr. Wade out in predicating an identity between Thaw-thi and Myinmo. And it is noteworthy that the Karen source on which Dr. Wade founded his Vocabulary makes no mention of Myinmo. The Karen Thesaurus, a vernacular dictionary written by Saw Kaw-tu under the supervision of Dr. Wade, and published at Rangoon in 1850, contents itself with the statement that Thaw-thi is "the biggest mountain on earth." Nor is it in accordance with fact to call Thaw-thi "an imaginary mountain." It is a real enough mountain, about which mythology has gathered.

Mount Thaw-thi is a peak in the watershed between the Sittang and the Salween. It lies east of Toungoo. General McMahon (*Karens of the Golden Chersonese*, p. 242) says that it is known to the Burmans as Nat-taung, or Taung-gaung-dôn. Rev. C. H. Heptonstall of Toungoo, informs me that the Karens have pointed out Mt. Thaw-thi to him, though he questions its identification with Nat-taung. General McMahon mentions a companion peak to Thaw-thi, by the name of Poghaw. This is probably the Pghaw-ghaw, which is the ordinary Karen couplet for Thaw-thi.

The reference to Mt. Thaw-thi affords no support to the theory of the Himalayan origin of the Karens, and indeed it does not carry our knowledge of them any further back than the Karen Hills of the Toungoo District. Can there be another Mt. Thaw-thi, in the distant north ?

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#### NOTE B. THE SANDY RIVER.

The expression which I have translated "sandy river" plays a conspicuous part in discussions of the origin of the Karen race. Dr. Mason interpreted it to mean a "river of running sand," i.e., a river consisting of sand. He came to the conclusion that the desert of Gobi was meant by this, and interpreted the legend to mean that the Karens had

crossed this desert during their migration into Burma. Subsequent writers have followed Dr. Mason here. See McMahon, "Karens of the Golden Chersonese," p. 113. Unfortunately, the expression does not mean a "river of running sand." Etymologically, I take it to mean water which washes sand as it flows. Dr. Wade's Karen Vocabulary defines it as "water flowing through sand." Karens whom I have consulted as to the meaning of the term tell me that it means "a river that flows through the sands." The Sittang, especially at low water, would be such a river. Besides, the story distinctly states that the Karens failed to cross the "sandy river," whatever it may have been. We have here nothing to support the theory that the Karens came from beyond the Desert of Gobi.

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NOTE C. SCREW SHELLS.

The Karen term is *klo kwa*—male shell. The Burmese term is *kayu hpin lein* (ခရုခိဇ်)—shell with a twisted end. Can any reader of the Journal supply the scientific name? The shell is a fresh water univalve, common all over Lower Burma. There is nothing in the mention of this shell to locate the Karens anywhere else than in Burma.

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NOTE D. THE DEMON FEAST.

The demon feast is a prominent feature in the religious rites of the Karens in their original state, untouched by Buddhism or Christianity. It is a feast of pork or chicken, eaten to propitiate the demons. One of the most common occasions, though not the only occasion, on which the Karens eat this feast is when one of them is sick. In this case it is eaten to propitiate the demon who has caused the sickness, and open the way for the recovery of the patient. The participation of every member of the family is regarded as essential to the efficacy of the feast. When it is eaten on behalf of a sick man, every one of his living relations must be present and participate to insure his recovery. Should one relative, from conscientious scruples or any other reason, fail to participate, and should the patient die, the recusant is held guilty of his death.



## NOTE E. INFERENCES TO BE DRAWN FROM THE STORY.

I have presented the story, so that it may be available to future investigators in the ethnology and history of Burma. I feel no little diffidence in presenting any conclusions. However, in a tentative way I will state the conclusions to which this story, without comparison with other data, seems to me to point.

It seems to me to point to the hills east of Toungoo as the earliest known habitat of Karens, and the centre from which they have been distributed over Lower Burma and Siam. I find no indications in this story of any previous habitat of the race.

It points to a certain kinship with the Taungthus and Shans. As to the idea of races arising from intermarriage of Karens with other races, this seems to me unlikely. The Karens have been as a rule very averse to such intermarriage.

It seems to point to an unsuccessful attempt on the part of the Karens, at some time in the past, to get a foot hold in the plains west of the Sittang river.

It seems to be intended, among other things, to warn the Karens against a tendency to give up the pursuit of their aims before they are achieved.

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## THE KINGS OF BURMA.

BY G. E. R. GRANT BROWN, I. C. S.

Probably everyone reading matter connected with Burmese history or archæology has at one time or another, felt the need of a chronological list of the dynasties of Burma with their kings. There is no such list in the Gazetteers, or in the clear and handy history recently published by Mr. Stuart. Phayre's history contains a list, but the spelling is fantastic, and the arrangement, for purposes of reference, somewhat confusing. The readers of this Journal, therefore, may find the list given below of some use to them. It is taken from Phayre's history without any attempt to correct anything but the spelling and the arrangement. The names are spelt as they are usually pronounced by a Burman. The Government system of transliteration has been followed, except that the two very different vowels which are both represented by *a* in that system are distinguished, one of them being written *ä*. The division of the names is arbitrary, the mixture of Pali and Burmese making it impossible to devise any consistent method: but the point is of minor importance.

There was, of course, no succession of dynasties ruling the whole country. The territories over which the various kings shown in the list held sway varied enormously in area, and there were sometimes contemporaneous kingdoms differing but little in importance. For the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, indeed, it has been necessary to show two dynasties reigning simultaneously in Upper and Lower Burma. For the rest of the time from Anawrāta onwards the only kings of importance are those shown in the list.

1. Pagan dynasty.—Anawrāta (1010) to Kyawzwa (1279)

Anawrāta	1010
Saw Lu	1052
Kyanyittha	1057
Alaungzethu	1085
Minshinzaw	1160

Narathu (Kālakyamin)	1160
Minyin Narathunka	1164
Nāyabādizethu	1167
Zeyatheinga	1204
Kyazwa	1227
Uzānā	1243
Narathihapādi (Tārokyemin)	1248
Kyawzwa	1279
2. Shan dynasty, Upper Burma.—Athinkāya (1298) to Uzānā Byaung (1364). Athinkāya. Yazathingyan, and Thihathu	
Tāzishin	1298
Thihathu Tāzishin	1312
Uzānā	1326
Ngazishin Kyawzwa	1336
Kyawzwa	1356
Narathu	1364
Uzānā Byaung	1364
3. Shan dynasty, Lower Burma.—Wāreru.	
	A. D.
Wa-rê-ru	1287
Khun-láu, or Tha-ná-ran-bya-keit	1306
Dzáu-áu, or Theng-mháing	1310
Dzáu-dzip, Binga-ran-da	1323
Binya-é-láu	1330
Binya-ú, or Tsheng-phyú-sheng	1348
Binya-nwé, or Rá-dzá-di-rít	1385
Binya Dham-má Rá-dzá	1323
Binya Rán-kit	1426
Binya-Wa-rú	1446
Binya Keng	1450
Mháu-dáu	1453
Sheng-tsáu-bu, Binya-dáu (queen)	1453
Dham-ma Dzé-di	1460
Binya Rán	1491
Ta-ká-rwut-bí	1526
4. Ava dynasty.—Thādominpāya (1364) to Sithukyaw- din Nāyabādi (1551).	

Thădominpăya	1364
Mingyizwa Sawkè	1367
Sinbyushin Tăyabya	1400
Pyinminzwe (Mingaung)	1401
Thihathu Sinbyushin	1422
Minhla-ngè	1426
Kale Kyedaungnyo	1426
Mohnyin Mindăya	1426
Minyè Kyawzwa	1439
Thihathu, or Băyin Năyapădi	1442
Măhathihathuya	1468
Thirithudăma Yazadibădi (Second Mingaung)	1480
Măhayaza Dibădi, or Shwenanshin Năyabădi	1501
Thohanbwa	1526
Kunhmaingngè	1542
Mobyemin Năyabădi	1545
Sagaing Sithukyawdin Năyabădi	1551.
5. Tagaung dynasty (Pegu).—Tăbinshweti (1540) to Nanda Băyin (1581.)	
Tăbinshweti	1540
Thămindut	1550
Thămeintaw	1550
Băyin Naung	1551
Nanda Băyin, or Ngazu Dayăka	1581
6. Taungu dynasty (Pegu and Ava).—Nyaungyan Min (1599) to Măhadămayaza Dibădi (1733).	
Nyaungyan Min	1599
Măhadămayaza or Anaukpetlunmindăya	1605
Minyèdipa	1628
Thalunmindăya, or Thădodămaraza	1629
Pindălè, or Ngadat Dayăka	1648
Pye Min, or Măhapăwăyadămayaza	1661
Năyawaya	1672
Thiripăwăyă Măhadămayaza	1672
Thirimăha Thihathuya Thudămayaza	1698
Thiripăwăya Măhadămayaza Dibădi	
Shinbyushin	1714

Māhadāmayaza Dibādi	1733
7. Gwe-Shan Dynasty (Pegu).—	
Bodda Kethi, Gwe Min	1740
Bin-nya Dāla	1746
8. Alaungpāya Dynasty.—Alaungpāya (1755) to Thibaw (1878).	
Alaungpāya	1753
Naungdawgyi	1760
Sinbyushin	1763
Singu Min	1775
Maung Maung	1781
Bādon Min Bodawpāya	1781
Sagaing Min Bagyidaw	1819
Thayawadi Min	1837
Pāgan Min	1846
Mindon Min	1853
Thibaw Min	1878

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## MISSIONARY BURMESE.

BY MAUNG TIN, B. A.

It is well that the American Missionaries who have Burma for their mission field should cherish with grateful pride the memory of Rev. Adoniram Judson as the man who paved the way for Missionary work in this country. The history of his Missionary labours here is too well-known to detain us long. A mere allusion to it is sufficient. Nor is it the purpose of the present article to treat it from a biographical point of view. Its purpose is only to review briefly what American Missionaries have done for the Burmese language, with which subject the name of Dr. Judson is intimately bound.

Special importance must be attached to the publication, about the middle of the last century, of Judson's translation of the Bible and his Dictionaries; for they form the first and the only great land-mark in the field of Burmese literature as explored by American Missionaries. It reflects great credit on the author's abilities that he could have brought out books of such utility and wide scope at a time when the Burmese language was but little known to foreigners. These books must, therefore, be considered as the works of a pioneer. Whatever short-comings they may have, are readily excused as the inevitable mistakes of one working upon insufficient materials. The labours of pioneers in every branch of activity, both physical and intellectual, are of the utmost service to later workers. In spite of any imperfections they may have, their works must ever remain as monumental records for the guidance of new-comers. Their utility far outweighs their insufficiency. Critics may, therefore, legitimately relax their rigidity to some extent, when dealing with the literary works of pioneers.

But American writers in Burmese of to-day cannot expect to enjoy the privileges of pioneers. It is only proper that they should be prepared to meet with a criticism at once just and unbiassed. The facilities for studying the Burmese

language at present cannot be said to be meagre at all. In fact, American missionaries, by virtue of the nature of their work, have the splendid opportunity of learning the language not only by studying the standard works of classical writers, but also by the more correct way of hearing it direct from the lips of the people. Being in touch with the people on such terms as must be highly beneficial to both parties, they are in a position to observe, with less difficulty, the various idioms, the different turns of expression, the varying shades of meaning and the many colloquialisms, that give so much lustre to the spoken language. Nevertheless, it seems indubitable, that they have fallen short of the expectations that have been made regarding their Burmese. If the works of Dr. Judson ever raised any hopes of American missionaries playing an important part in the later development of the Burmese language, these hopes must now be given up. For, their literary contributions, so far as we know, are by no means of a nature to leave any permanent impression on the minds of Non-American readers. It is regrettable that such a good example set by Dr. Judson and his colleague, Dr. Stevens, should not have stimulated their successors to a more intelligent study of the Burmese language. If one is to judge by the later publications, one has little or no doubt that the study of the language by the Americans has been in a languishing state, or else has taken a wrong direction. These publications, it must be admitted, by no means show an intimate acquaintance, on the part of the authors, with the language in which they are written. Apart from occasional reprints of the New Testament, Missionary Burmese, as it is fittingly called, is to be read in scraps of translations on moral subjects, biographical notes, monthly papers and accounts of travel and similar bagatelle. The epithet, 'Missionary Burmese,' alone gives an idea of the sort of language one reads in these publications. For, it is to be remembered, that such an epithet is not due to the caprice of any single individual; but it is the creation of the whole community. And the judgment of the community happens, in this case, to be influenced by a full appreciation of the ludicrous.

A distinguishing line, however, should be drawn between the matter and the style of the books written in Missionary Burmese. With regard to the matter, even the most fastidious moralist would hardly find anything to take exception to. And this is precisely as it should be. For, it is not likely to come across anything besides the inculcation of the best morals in books written by people who profess (and it is the most self-sacrificing of professions) to convert others to their own faith. Hence it is that the tone in point of morality is always pure, healthy and sweet and often even powerful.

But in speaking highly of the contents of the books, one must not be blind to the style in which they are written. The most careless reader, provided he is not an American Missionary, will at once be struck by the peculiar construction of the sentences. Almost on every page, strange forms and expressions betray the foreign hand. There is no end of colloquialisms, some of them being ludicrously out of place. And these are contrasted with stilted idioms and striking passages, mostly having only a semblance of poetic images. Indeed, it may be said of most of these writings, that they resemble nothing so much as a curious piece of mosaic constructed out of materials of forced labour. It is difficult, when dealing with the special features of a number of books, to do justice to every one of them, unless one goes into details. Perhaps, there may be some writers who are more happy in their expression and are not so guilty of murdering the Burmese language. Nevertheless, their mannerism is too well-marked to escape notice, and generally, the style of one writer is so much like that of the others that it needs no critical acumen to discover their relationship. To account for this is quite an easy thing. It is our belief that most of these Reverend gentlemen begin to write Burmese before they have made a thorough study of it. A mere colloquial acquaintance with a language does not make a good writer. We fully sympathize with, and heartily encourage, these ladies and gentlemen (a fair proportion of writers in Missionary Burmese consists of ladies) in their attempts at Burmese authorship, because we know for certain that their motive is good and that their writings



continue to exercise a beneficial influence over the minds and habits of a community, that is daily increasing in number—the community of Burman Christians. But in the interest of literature, we cannot persuade ourselves to commend the style of writing. Perhaps, one feels justified in being eager for the purity of one's language after filtration through foreign minds. We would, therefore, with due deference to these American writers, suggest a method of procedure, which they seem to have neglected.

It is clear that a sound critical knowledge of any language cannot be attained without a systematic study of the classical works written in that language. The Burmese language also can boast of its own classics, without an intimate knowledge of which a man can hardly be called a scholar. We would therefore strongly recommend a systematic study of Burmese literature to American Missionaries. Such a study would not only enable them to clothe their thoughts in pure, simple and forceful language, but the purity of the language alone would appeal to the people at large. Non-Christian Burmans, notwithstanding religious scruples, would take delight in reading their writings for the sake of the language, if not for anything else. Thus a systematic study of Burmese literature would serve the double purpose of improving Missionary Burmese and of inviting the attention of non-Christian Burmans. Moreover, it would go far to lessen the glaring inconsistencies in the mode of spelling adopted by American writers. Their mistakes in spelling such ordinary words as are heard in every-day speech make their writings extremely ridiculous when the reader is conscious of the change in meaning due to a difference of spelling. But one is glad to see the beginnings of a steady improvement in this respect.

Foreigners may find it easy to write Burmese as compared with other modern tongues. The Burmese language, indeed, in common with all agglutinative languages, does not present so many complexities of construction as do most inflectional ones. But its want of inflection is more than compensated for by its wealth of imagery, its happy turns of expression, and its high degree of responding to the needs of the writer.

It is, like the older language, Pali, to much it owes much, a language pre-eminently fitted for the vehicle of religious thought. This hardly needs any demonstration, if one only thinks of the contents of Burmese books. Almost every one of them treats of religion; and the religion being Buddhism does not attract, naturally, many Christian readers. Nevertheless, American writers in Burmese would be well repaid for their pains in studying the literature. For there one meets with forms and expressions of ecclesiastical significance, that would be peculiarly suitable for missionary purposes. That is to say, missionaries writing in Burmese would be spared the trouble of coining new words and expressions, as these are abundantly supplied in Burmese books.

It seems necessary, therefore, to remind American writers in Burmese of the greater portion that still remains unexplored in the mine of Burmese literature. As a matter of fact, they delve and tend but a plot in that mine, whilst much that would be valuable awaits their diligent search. In other words, they seem to be gathering shells on the shore, whereas they ought to be crossing, as a well-known Indian saying has it, to the other shore of the ocean of Burmese literature. Perhaps they have not weighed well the truth of Pope's familiar couplet,

A little learning is a dang'rous thing;

Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring.

And it is only fair that they should know, that although they write in Burmese, there is much in their mannerism that falls chill and stark on Burmese ears and much that brings a smile to Burmese lips.

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## VARIETIES.

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### HARVEST HOME IN BURMA.

In some villages in England there are, I believe, annual offerings of fish; in one slum parish, where the people wash clothes, make jam, and otherwise earn their livelihood in objectionable but necessary ways, I know that, when the outer world is celebrating harvest, the church is decked with unmeaning sheaves of corn. Here in Burma such offerings are less incongruous, and it is not surprising that annually there are village festivals when the first fruits are dedicated to the monks. This usually happens in Tabodwè, after the stirring of the Christmas pudding. It is interesting to note that this ceremony also has not yet lost in Burma its connection with the harvest. All the fruits of the year are put into the pot, rice cooked in oil, and sessamum and ground nut, with parings of coconut and the milk of coconuts to add another flavour. Properly cooked there should be one *byi*, four pounds, of rice to twenty five tolas of sessamum oil, but not many of the cultivating classes can afford such luxuries as this, fifteen to twenty tolas of oil is usually thought sufficient. Then as the rice is taken from the pot the oil drips through the fingers; this is the test of a good confection. The more wealthy people put in walnuts, but this is an exotic luxury a concession to the palate, as patent as the inclusion of citron and raisin in an English pudding. The field labourers share in the feast, in recognition that they have mixed their labour with it, and a few years ago, when the domestic economy was marked by yearly hiring, this occasion was the formal termination of the annual contract. Portions are sent to the neighbours and the monks receive their tribute, known as *sun u sun bya*. Sir George Scott in the Gazetteer of Upper Burma describes the corresponding palace ceremony. This stirring of the rice gruel, *tamin ne to de*, with its offering to the monks, is however only the Buddhist version of an older ceremony which is still practised. The rites of Bonmagyi, the harvest spirit, are observed both in the Lower and the Upper Province; but except to Burmans they appear singularly little known. In Sir Richard Temple's interesting volume on the Thirty Seven Nats there is a quotation alluding to Talaing observance of the custom, and in the Gazetteer of

Upper Burma, I believe, an archaic form of the name Bonmagyi finds mention, but unfortunately I am at present unable to trace the reference. So little note however has been taken of these harvest customs that they have escaped the notice of Dr. Frazer, and they find no mention in his researches on the subject published in "The Golden Bough." This fact alone, apart from their intrinsic interest for those of us who live in Burma, makes it worth while setting them on record.

Many up country folk must have noticed, in the cool of the morning when the March breezes have blown away the mists of February, a cart gay with silk streamers, being driven rapidly across the new repped paddy fields. A cadence of lusty song hushes the groaning concert of the wheels, the people are light hearted; for good or ill the year is over, the harvest, rich or scanty, is on the threshing floor, and they can look towards the next year confidently, for they are bringing captive the guardian spirit of the rice. There is only one sheaf of paddy in the cart, it was the last sheaf, left over might in the fields to be brought home with ceremony. Early in the morning the cultivators have gone out with apparel and looking glass and comb, and with these allurements the facile spirit has been wooed. When they reach the threshing floor there is a little feast, people from the neighbouring huts are summoned, and Bonmagyi is propitiated with an offering. The sheaf is placed apart from the others, and, in theory, should be kept in the granary, while there are faint uncertain traces of a custom at the next sowing time, in which Bonmagyi as represented by the sheaf took further part. But the price of paddy is high, one sheaf is very like another, the threshing floor is distant from the village, and if the owner does not have it trodden out the cattle will very likely eat it. In some cases the landlord involuntarily suppresses superstitious practices by leaving the tenant—as the saying goes—"with nothing but winnowing fan and tray", while the tenant rarely works two years for the same master, and has therefore no abiding interest in the fertility of the land. The custom is a relic of the old days, a survival of the domestic economy when paddy was cultivated mainly for household use; it is ill adapted to a time of cultivation as an export industry.

There is another factor making for decay. The observance is reckoned for some reason a Talaing custom; immigrants from Upper Burma disregard and often ridicule it, so that Lower Burmans of longer standing, even if they observe the rites do so shamefacedly. This is the stranger as the same custom under the same name and with no essential

difference of form is well known and much more scrupulously observed in parts of, if not all over, Upper Burma.

One outstanding feature of the ceremony in the upper province is the assignment of a fixed date for its observance. It may not a speculation too remote that with uncertain seasons this practise serves as a memorial of harvest time. Otherwise with continuous sowing and infrequent reaping the harvest customs might be overlooked. In Lower Burma there is little fear of this. The date is always one of the first three days of the waxing of Tabaung, usually the third. These are important days in the calender of agriculture for they presage the ensuing rains. If the first be gusty there will be showery early rains, if it be still the rains will fail, if however there be a steady wind from the south good early rains may be anticipated. Like omens as to the middle and late rains are gathered from the atmospheric conditions of the second and third day respectively. It does not seem however that there is any connection between this weather wisdom and the cult of Bonmagyi.

In Upper Burma there is no setting apart of the last sheaf, and no ceremonial home coming, while in most cases Bonmagyi remains impersonal. On the appointed day however models in rice are made of the farm cattle and offered in the cattle byre, in some localities they also make models of their plows and other implement of husbandry which are placed in the plow shed, and even, apparently by association of ideas, if there is a pony an image of this will be offered in the stable. Sometimes the offerings are more numerous, and the ceremonial more detailed; in other cases nothing but the rude model of an ox will be set up. Then at noon, when Bonmagyi may be supposed to have satisfied her appetite, the offerings are taken down, and, as in Lower Burma, the ceremony ends with feasting.

In some villages Bonmagyi is considered to inhabit empty cocoons, or earth nests formed by insects on the paddy stalks. The reaper who discovers one of these exclaims; "I have captured Bonmagyi;" work is stopped, the lucky plant is separated from the rest and taken home to be stored in the owner's granary. The finder is entitled to claim strange customary bounties, a set of clothing, a basket of paddy, a day's wage or some suitable equivalent, fixed by a village Solon many years ago.

I have not an acquaintance with the canon of the Jatakas to know whether the tradition of the origin is on the orthodox list of birth stories. It is related however that during the last incarnation of the Master, a man was fighting for

his life against a female monster, a *Biluma* (1). The Master interrupted the combatants with the reminder that they were building up for themselves eons of interminable misery. "Already for three existences you have been at strife, as cat and fowl, as deer and tiger alternately you have destroyed each other; in your last existence as *Biluma* you rapt away the child of this man (2), and now again you are at strife. In future let the man feed the *Biluma*, and the *Biluma* feed the man." Ever since then man has devoted a portion of the annual increase to the spirit, who as guardian of the rice has nurtured it. From these kindly relations *Bonmagyi* derives her name; *Puppa kye*, as it was originally, the Ancient Sower, now in course of time modified to *Bonmagyi*.

Not a few of the farms in Upper Burma are known as *Bonmagyi*; still I have never heard of her being assessed to land revenue. In Lower Burma other gods have been introduced by other nations, and it is possible to find the Virgin Mary assessed to revenue in her own proper name, so far as the Tamil language, transliterated by a revenue surveyor, will permit; the produce of the acres standing in the name of "*P'arada Madhari*" is annually sent at harvest time to the Church of Our Lady of Mayuveram.

J. S. F.

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1. The Story is found in the *Dhammapada Atthakatha*, Chp. i 4,= p. 45 of the J. P. T. S's edition, Vol. i. (note of the Editor).

2. The strife was between an Ogress and a woman; the story illustrates, in a singular manner, the influence of a person's, last state of mind before death, on the next existence. The story in translation is found in "*Buddhism*," Vol. 2 p. 309. (Edit.)

## THE BURMESE CALENDAR.

In many places there are scattered notes on the various eras which have been adopted at different times in Burma, but I have never come across a compendious list of the year — names which are found on old inscriptions, and in astrological publications. Each year is named after that sign of the Zodiac under the influence of which it falls, and a simple calculation renders it possible to determine the appropriate name. The table subjoined shows the “golden number” of the year, the name as it appears in present day astrological writings, the name as it appears on the old inscription pillars, and the popular pronunciation.

No.	Astrological Name.	Name on Incriptions.	Pronunciation.
1	ငဇယ်	ဇယ်၊ ဇယ်	Se.
2	ဝိဿခါ	ဝိဿ၊ ဝိဿ	Wisseya.
3	ဇေဋ္ဌ	ဇိဿ	Seit-tha.
4	အာသလ္လ	အာသံ၊ အာသတ်၊ အာသိ	A-thein.
5	သရဝန်	သယျာထ၊ ဩဝန်	Tharawun.
6	အဋ္ဌ	အဿ၊ တတ်	At-tha.
7	အသုစူဠ	အာသုတ်၊ အာသိန်	A-thein.
8	ကြက္ခိကာ	ကြတိုက်၊ ကြတိကာ	Kyadaik.
9	မိဂသီ	မြကသီ၊ မြက္ခသိုရ်	Migathi.
10	ပုဿ	ပဿ၊ ပုဿ	P'ok-sha.
11	မာဃ	မာဓ၊ မာဂ	Maga.
12	ဘရဂ္ဂဏီ	ဖလကိုန်၊ ဖျကိုန်	Balakon.

The accuracy of the pronunciation above given is not guaranteed but as this in some cases more closely resembles the astrological form, and in other cases the form found in old inscriptions the English equivalent may be of use to Europeans who wish to make further enquiries on the subject.

In order to ascertain the name of any given year, subtract two from the last figure in the date according to the Burmese Era, divide the last two figures thus obtained by 12, and the remainder is the number of the year in the above table. Thus the present year is 1272, subtracting 2 there remains 1270, which when the last two figures are divided by 12 yields 10 as a remainder. This corresponds to the name Pok-sha in the above table, which is the name of the present year.

The probabilities of a favourable season may be prognosticated from the name of the year; thus last year the early rains should have been poor, the middle good, and the late rains violent; in the present year the early and middle rains

should be poor, and the late rains good. Both years however characterised by increasing fertility of the soil. Next year although poor early rains may be expected, the middle and late rains will be good, but the soil will be infertile.

These notes may not be of much use in preparing the rice crop forecast, but they may be of interest to readers of the Journal.

J. S. F.

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## NARRATIVES AND DIALOGUES.

A servant of mine—a lad from Myingyan District—who was chatting to me as he pulled off my Jodhpurs, happened to mention thunderbolts.

"Have you ever seen one?" I asked.

"Well, no, Thakin,!" he replied; "I haven't exactly seen one; but I once saw a man who had been struck by one: he was killed, of course; and though there was no wound visible, his flesh was full of little holes like a sieve. You know, Thakin, when a man has been killed by a thunderbolt, he can't be buried in the ordinary way; instead of digging the usual sort of grave and laying him in it lengthwise, they dig a hole about the height of a man and place him upright in it and then put the earth in; but they must leave a bit of his hair sticking out at the top: then they get a harrow and fix iron teeth in it, or if they can't get iron teeth on the spur of the moment, then any other small piece of iron will do; and they harrow the ground all around with this till they have a heap round him and then they take the harrow right over him; so that he is quite covered up. If they don't bury him this way they say that there will be drought. Then they get bunches of thorns and drag them over the surface of the ground so as to obliterate the marks of the harrow. And last of all they dig a trench round the place, that no water may enter his grave; for they say it is not good to drink or use the water that has touched the corpse of such a man."

"Why, no!" I remarked: "one would not for choice use anyone's grave as a filter for one's drinking water."

"True," he said; "but they say that water from the grave of one who has been struck by lightning is especially to be avoided. And a man too, who has hanged himself has to be buried in a special way. He must be buried not standing, but sitting cross-legged; and the earth when piled up must only reach to his neck, leaving the whole of his head protruding above the level of the soil. Then they cover this up using a harrow in the same way as before; only in this case you need not have iron teeth. Of course now a days since we have been under English rule, they bury these suicides in the ordinary way; but even now no one would dare to give a proper funeral to a man, who had been killed by a thunderbolt, or to bury him any other way than that which I have described." (1)

"Oh! wouldn't they?" I said. "Very well, go and get my bath water."

H. L.

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1. There was a still more gruesome custom in the case of a woman dying with child before childbirth (Idem.)

# TRANSLATION OF BURMESE SONGS.

BY G. E. R. GRANT BROWN, I. C. S.

## PROLOGUE.

Mingāla yè hma. mandaing le	မင်္ဂလာရယ်မှ။မန်တိုင်လေ။
Yaung zaing ngè hma. le: li	ရှောင်ဆိုင်ငယ်မှ။လေးလီ။
Tha maw ngè si nat pyi t'i. lu.	သာမောရယ်စည်။နတ်ပြည်ထိလူ။
Pyaw bwè kaung: nat paung: su. lo.	ပျော်ဘွယ်ကောင်း။နတ်ပေါင်းစုလို့။
Meyu. bāho Myin. hmo t'eik hma	မေရူဗဟို။မြင့်မှိုရ်ထိန်မှ။
Weyanta ga. Thuzananda.	ဝေယန္တာက။သူတာနန္တ။
Seitra. hnin. Seitta. dāma	စိတြနှင့်။စိတ္တဓမ္မ။
Tyin ya āmya : mi. bāya : baung :	ကြိုင်ရာအများ။မိဖုရားပေါင်း။
Taung thaung: mǎ ka.	ထောင်သောင်းမက။
Nga Thādya: hman	ငါသိကြားမှန်။
'Tet pya: yè san	ထက်များရယ်စံ။
Wun: yan k'a. i.	ဝန်းရန်ခ၏။
Nat mya. āhmu: lu do. pye dwin	နတ်များအမှု။လူတို့ပြည်တွင်။
Nga āshin thi pyaw shwin myu: mi	ငါအရှင်သည်။ပျော်ရွှင်မြူးမည်။
La thi tāga:.	လာသည်တကား။
Mingāla ngè hma. san gin:	မင်္ဂလာငယ်မှစံခင်း။
Pwè: mya. baung dwīn	ပွဲများဘောင်တွင်။
Gon yaung lin: ba dè. min: āmya: do.	ဂုဏ်ရောင်လင်းပါတဲ့။မင်းအများတို့။

## A LOVER'S LAMENT.

Lun: mǎ pye lo. ne ket bya.,	လွမ်းမပြေလို့နေခက်ချ။
Ne 'ket aung go tha.	နေခက်အောင်ကိုသာ၊
Nat kè bè hnè pan la ye:?	နတ်ကယ်ဘယ်နှယ်မန်လာရေး။
Shwe nyi. hlwa yon chon lè. ngè,	ရွှေညဉ့်ရွာရှိချိုလဲငယ်
Chan: lo. e.	ချစ်လို့ဇေ။
Twe we hmaing ga,	တွေဝေမှိုင်းကာ။
'Kwe k'we, yaing ga,	ခွေခွေယိုင်ကာ။
Yun: shwe thinza on: hma s'we:.	ယွန်းရွှေသင်ဇာဘုံးမှာဆွေ။

O tan: yaung bè s'aung bè s'aung	အိုတမ်း:ယောင်ဘယ်ဆောင်ဘယ်ဆောင်။
Bè hma pon: tyaw. ketha?	ဘယ်မှာဘုန်းကျော့ဥတေသာ။
Bwe bwe san ya	ဗွေဗွေစံရာ။
Thawda bya.,	သော်တာဗျ။
Thawda paw la	သော်တာပေါလာ။
Yaung shet, yaung shet yaung shet, pya lo.,	ရောင်ရှက်ရောင်ရှက်ဖြာလို။
Settya bya.,	စကြာဗျ။
Settya son zon shwe,	စကြာစုံစုံရွှေ။
Yi we yi we thawda	ရီဝေရီဝေသော်တာ။
'Pyā shet pya shet yaung kun.	ဖြာရှက်ဖြာရှက်ရောင်ကွန်။
Tha hnwè: pu myè: pan: mā hlan: hnaing,	သာနှဲပျဲမြဲ:ပန်း:မလှမ်း:နှိုင်း။
Hmaing yaung hmaing yaung k'we gwe.	မှိုင်းယောင်မှိုင်းယောင်ခွေခွေ။

### IN THE FOREST.

Hmaing: hmon pya nyo yi hmaung we.	မှိုင်း:မှန်ပြာညို:ရီမှောင်ဝေ။
Myu tein dye thwin:, ngwe hnin: s'aw t'we.	မြို့တိမ်မြေသွင်း:ငွေနှင်း:ဆော်ထွေ။
Pyan. byan. Ngè hlaing bwe tyaw. zaing.	ပျံ့ပျံ့ငယ်လှိုင်း:ဗွေကျော့သိုင်း။
Pan: son paw: dè. taw: le le: hewun myaing.	ပန်း:စုံပေါ်တဲ့:တောလေလေး:ဟေဝန်မြိုင်။
Son ganda tyaw. mala gaing:	စုံဂန္ဓာကျော့:မာလာခိုင်း။
'Ton ganda tyaw. mala gaing.	ထုံဂန္ဓာကျော့:မာလာခိုင်း။
Lun: mā pye hnaing.	လွမ်း:မပြေနှိုင်း။
'Kwe yaing le le: tha han t'u:.	ခွေယိုင်လေးလေး:သာဟန်ထူး။
Min: lwin tein go: myu: taw: taung yan	မင်း:လွင်တိမ်ခိုး:မြို့:တောတောင်ယံ။
Tha han le le: twe dwe tu:.	သာဟန်လေးလေး:ထွေထွေထူး။

### LOVE-DITTY.

Pa. ba. ngè le win: win:,	ပပငယ်လောင်း:ဝင်း:။
Mya. pindaing we hmaing s'aung lon: lin:.	မြပင်တိုင်ဝေမှိုင်းဆောင်လုံးလင်း:။
Yin: shwe ko mu po le dyin:.	ရင်း:ရွှေကိုယ်:မူပိုလေခြင်း:။

Tyaw. shin: ketha	ကျော့ရှင်းကေသာ။
Thon: daung ga. tha thă le le.	သုံးထောင်က။သာသလေလေ။
Pădon: yaung mya. daung pya.	ပိတုန်းရောင်မြဲတောင်ဖြာ။
Shwe yi theinga,	ရွှေရည်သိန်။
Pyissa lun than. shin:,	ပုဆွာလွန်သန့်ရှင်း။
Thuza po mā ywin:,	သူဇာပိုမလွင်း။
'Sin 'Sa. dan min: ngè tho.	ဆင်ဆူ၌နမင်းငယ်သို့။
Tyaw. shin: le,	ကျော့ရှင်းလေ။
Yo: sit pye bye,	ရိုးဆစ်ပြေပြေ။
'Ka: daw yin daw ne,	ခါးတော်ရင်တော်နေ။
Mauk pyo: we shwe tyaw. hmu:.	မောက်ဖြိုးဝေရွှေကျော့ရှင်း။
Zăbu mye sha bwe,	ဇမ္ဗူမြေရှာဖွေ။
Twe. hnaing baung	တွေ့နိုင်ပေါင်း။
Hla. mya. gaung yin tyaw. u:,	လှမျှခေါင်းယဉ်ကျော့ဦး။
Maung. ko 'tu:,	မောင့်ကိုယ်ထူး။
Tyon ya. dè le le.	ကြိုရတယ်လေလေ။
Twe. bu: t'in mi. dè.	တွေ့ဘူးထင်မိတယ်။

## PROLOGUE.

Blessed source of four-fold light,  
Wondrous rays that reach to heaven,  
To the joyful hosts divine !  
On the crown of Mount Meru  
Tier on tier the palace rises  
Where the Maiden Thuza Nanda, (1)  
Seitra, (1) Seittadamma (1) dwell  
With thousand and ten thousand queens.  
There above all worlds enthroned  
I, the Lord Thădya, (2) receive  
Worship from th' encircling throng.  
Now into this world of mortals  
Delegate of all the gods,  
I descend, on pleasure bent,  
Where illustrious sons of men  
Have prepared in merry measure  
Dance and song for my delight.

1. These are the names of the four principal queens of Sakka, the Pali names are : Sudhammā, Sujāta, Sunanda and Sucittā. (Edit).

2. That is သိကြား, Pali: Sakka Sanskrit: Cakra, from which latter form the Burmese one has been obtained; he rules over the lowest five heavens where still prevail the pleasures of sense. He is a mighty god and a great friend to Buddhism. (Edit).

## A LOVER'S LAMENT.

Hard is my lot, and unassuaged my yearning.  
 How have the gods ordained ?  
 (Wrap well my robe about me, for I shiver.)  
 Distraught with sorrow, on my gold-lacquer couch  
 Wildly I ask myself, Where is my love, my glorious jewel ?  
 It's in the round heaven,  
 Where the moon spreads his beams afar, afar,  
 Radiating,  
 Radiating over all,  
 Reaching into the dimness with shimmering waves ?  
 Under a load of grief I reel and swoon,  
 Blinded, dazed, bowed down with sorrow,  
 With remembrance of my woe.

## IN THE FOREST.

The place is dim and grey, the darkness spreads :  
 The feet of cloudland enter, the silver mists commingle.  
 Sweet-smelling zephyrs whirl and kiss each other,  
 And many a flower blossoms in the glades.  
     Clusters of lilies deck the way,  
     Clusters of scented lilies.  
     But that I yearn for is not,  
     And I am weary : yet 'tis sweet—  
 The woods, the driven mist on the hillsides—  
     'Tis wondrous sweet !

## LOVE-DITTY.

Little one, whose radiance fills  
 All the house with light :  
 Dainty form that daily thrills  
     Thy lover with delight !  
 Flashing black with emerald sheen  
     Like wing of humble-bee  
 Tresses trim that measure sure  
     Cubits more than three !  
 Pure thou art as gold refined,  
     Ne'er a blemish thine :  
 Thuza's self is not more fair,  
     Nor Saddam's form divine.  
 Smooth limbs with beauty graced :  
 Swelling bosom, supple waist :  
     Not Zäbu itself, I ween,  
 That enchanted isle, could show  
 Searcht from end to end, a maiden  
     Fairer than my queen !

## REVIEWS.

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### CRITICAL NOTE ON MR. FURNIVALL'S PAPER ON MATRIARCHAL VESTIGES IN BURMA.

BY PROF. G. R. T. ROSS, M.A., D. PHIL.

Mr. Furnivall's paper is most interesting and the materials he has collected form an important contribution to the anthropology of Burma. As my function here is to be critical I must refrain, though unwillingly from further comment on the excellence of his treatment of his subject, but must pass at once to a review of his main thesis. Certain indications in the past history of the Burmese people and in their present traditions and institutions, point to the existence, Mr. Furnivall thinks, of a matriarchal social system among them in early times. Though each of them might be separately explained by independent hypothesis, yet the principle of intellectual economy which is also a principle of things, leads me to prefer that the only which is capable of accounting for the greatest number of known facts. But the simplicity of nature is hardly inflected in a theory which is of itself far from clear either in statement or conception. By these words I do not wish to criticise specially Mr. Furnivall's conception of 'the' matriarchate. My object in the first place is rather to show that the current notion of the matriarchate is highly ambiguous and that consequently inferences from its supposed existence in Burma to account for some present features of Burmese Society are quite untrustworthy.

Certainly Mr. Furnivall recognizes that a matriarchate does not mean a gynaccocracy. The term indeed is a misnomer. It seems to imply something exactly antithetic to a patriarchal system. But as a matter of fact the mother never can *rule* in the sense in which the father can control his family. Even in an extreme development of the matriarchal system like that of the Khasis of Assam, according to which, besides the fact that all inheritance is through the female line, daughter alone inherit, we see that the tendency is for the husband to form a new household and rule it (1). Again when effective ruling is important as in the case of the siemship (2), it is a man who hold the office, though his

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1. The Khasis, by Major Gurdon. pp. 78, 79.

2. Op. cit. pp. 68 and 99., cf. also Frazer, Attis Adonis and Osiris pp. 390 and 99.

claim to it rests on relationship through the female line. Now a mature consideration of such facts should make one hesitate before seeking to connect a relatively higher status on the part of women with an absence of patriarchal institutions.

Again 'the' matriarchate is only a general name for a number of very diverse systems possessing the common feature that inheritance through the female line, is prominent in each. The 'matriarchal' institutions of various races are probably but solidifications of customs due to condition which in more primitive times may have been identical with these effecting races which now trace descent and the claim to inherit through the father. In fact the inheriting by daughter alone supervening on the right of inheritance through the mother only is the inevitable outcome of a state of things which in many races must at times have been coincident with an inherited exercise of power on the part of the male head of the household. A condition of society in which the young males of the household wandered forth abroad in quest of fortune, perhaps often compelled to do so by the jealous patriarch who ruled it, would conduce to the growth of such institutions. The legend of early Greece and Italy referred to by Mr. Frazer, in (1) *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* give perhaps some limits about such a state of things. On the other hand the multiplication of households, as families expanded in to tribes were consolidated in state and became attached to fixed abodes, would tend to diminish patriarchal power except among an aristo-cracy. In this latter case we find an attempt on the part of certain families to imitate the isolation and independence of earlier times. The natural result is, that, since the male do not range so freely as formerly, the family should strengthen itself by recognising the title of son to inherit and further to inherit through the father thus we may account for the state of things found in historical Roman society at the same time it is not claimed that the inheritance of male and inheritances through the father arises in this way only. It seems to be an essential requisite in every nomadic or partially nomadic society, like that of the early Semites of the desert regions of south Eastern Asia.

Briefly my contention is that inheritance through the mother only and by daughter alone and inheritance through the father only and by a son or sons alone, are attempts by antithetic methods on the part of the family to maintain its permanence or identity under quite diverse conditions. Now

mere remote ethnological affinities between the Burman and the Khasis will not enable us to infer even the possibility of the social institutions of this hill-tribe to-day being similar to a by-gone polity of the former people. We cannot say whether or not certain apparent tendencies towards the recognition of mother-kin more especially are the result of fairly recent conditions certainly they are proportionate to the amount of roving possible to the men of the race. But this roving is itself controlled by other conditions. In a nomadic state of existence a family tribe would probably hang more closely together. Roaming outside the family and entrance into another society would probably be much easier when tribes were fairly well settled.

As for other indications quoted by Mr. Furnivall I do not think that they tend to establish the existence of a 'matriarchate', e. g., such as that existing among the Khasis, at all. The practice of religious prostitution at ancient Pagan has nothing to do with inheritance through females. It is paralleled by the horrible rites of modern Hindu or ancient Phœnician religion—which are quite independent of the principle of inheritance through mother-kin or again it may be construed as a usurpation by the priest-hood of the *jus primæ noctis* a well known feature of western patriarchal institutions.

But the most serious objections I take to Mr. Furnivall's paper is the serious confusion of identifying the 'matriarchate', with a state of promiscuity or sexual communism. Even Dr. Frazer whose treatment of these subjects in the earlier chapters of 'Attis, Adonis and Osiris' (1) tends to produce the confusion in question, comes towards the end of his work to see that there is no necessary connection between them. Thus among Western Asiatic peoples in ancient times religious practices existed pointing to a primitive state of sexual communism. Yet in the case of most of these peoples inheritance was through the father. (2) Again though in ancient Egypt there existed some of the features not only of a 'matriarchate' but even, according to Vioderus Siculus, (3) of a gynaccocracy, and marriages between brothers and sisters were thought especially sacred, yet it would "be a mistake to treat these marriages as a relic of savagery, as a survival of a tribal communion which knew no bar to the intercourse of the sexes." (4) Finally we might adduce the instance of the Khasis among whom there

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1. Book I, Chapter II and III.
  2. Attis, Adoni's and Osiris p. 394.
  3. Op. cit. p. 395, note 2.
  4. Op. cit. p. 397.



is no vestige either of such communism or of polyandry, (1) as contrasted with the Pelew Islanders where the communism exists along with inheritance through the female line. (2).

Now the frequency of endogamic marriage in the Burman royal family may have the same explanation as the custom of brothers and sisters marrying in ancient Egypt. Such a marriage is probably a device for circumventing in the interest of the son the principle of female inheritance. The ancestor of the Burman royal house may have lived under conditions similar to those which governed the life of the heroic forefathers of the ruling families of Greece and Rome. On the other hand the passing of a kingdom with a surviving queen, also a common event in Burmese history, is quite contrary to the rules of the succession to the chiefship in a developed system of female inheritance such as that of the Khasis (in spite of what Mr. Furnivall says). It probably dates from a time prior to the definite fixing and uniform application of such laws. When the queen was herself the heiress, and according to the rules of female inheritance applying to ordinary property, no division of the family estate took place till her death, one can understand the competition for her hand. But in later ages when the queen owed her position merely through her marriage to the male heir to the throne, other motives must have entered into that competition. In the legend of the usurpation of Wimala, by the way, it does not appear that the Princess of the Golden Gourd was an heiress. Wimala's claim, if based on inheritance through the female line, was that of the eldest interine brother, or he may have been simply what the tribe would have called the 'tanist.'

In any case, however, none of these interesting facts connected with the royal succession in Burma point to the early existence of a state of promiscuity in Burman society.

One indication and one alone there is among the materials which Mr. Furnivall has collected which seems like a memory of the time when human beings were organized somewhat in the fashion of a pack of animals, by the jealousy of which the individual was much more narrowly controlled. This is the legend related to him by an aged Upper Burman who accounted by it, for the practice of demanding 'ge-bo' from a newly married couple. His time, the testimony the aged gives us is confused and highly ambiguous. It is quite inconceivable that the pairing of individuals should coincide with the enlightenment spoken of. In fact definite pairing belongs to a much earlier stage of

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1. Gurdon, 'The Khasis' p. 77.

2. Frazer, *op. cit.* pp. 386 and 89, pp. 435, 6.

development and is found even among gregarious animals. But the communal jealousy of primitive society is at least well displayed in the story. Now one of the possible reactions of the individual to this jealousy is his submission or rather his agreement to come to a compromise by making a payment of some kind. The result of this spirit of compromise is the organization of society in a plebeian form such as we find to have been almost universal in Burma for long ages. It is thus quite probable that a tradition reaching back to the conditions which produce a plebeian society should have been preserved in such a society better than in one broken up by the intrusion of aristocratic institutions and prejudices. On the other hand it is quite possible that the communion of historic Burma may be a comparatively modern growth. A strange old story might go on being repeated long after the facts to which it was due had disappeared or might be preserved among the humblest order of the population, among whom communitic claims were strongest.

However that may be, it remains to be said in conclusion that it seems impossible to infer a superiority in the status of woman either to a state of sexual communism or to inheritance through the female line. It will hardly be argued that the former is conjoined with respect for woman as a moral and intelligent being; and as the latter does not imply a real matriarchate and may be quite disjoined from real power on the part of women, we must seek in other directions for an explanation of the exceptional position of women among many of the races of the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

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## VEDIC GRAMMAR.

BY A. A. MACDONELL.

(*Trübner, Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*).

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Professor Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar* is the first grammar to deal exclusively with Vedic forms. Many scholars have dealt with Vedic peculiarities as part of a treatise on the grammar of classical Sanskrit, but up to now scholars have seemed rather reluctant to undertake the task of compiling a grammar dealing exclusively with Vedic forms. It seems rather astonishing that no Indian scholar should have attempted the task. For Indians, however, the flowery language of the Kavya poets possesses greater attractions. It

seems rather a pity that those who are best fitted by tradition and sympathy to explain Vedic ideas, should have left the grammatical exposition of the sacred language to Europeans whose sympathy is but intellectual.

Professor Macdonell has made the subject of the Vedas peculiarly his own. His "Sanskrit Literature" contains a really excellent outline of the poems, and his "Vedic Mythology" is a standard work. There is an extraordinary fascination about the Vedic poems, which it is impossible to explain. Once the student is possessed by their charm, he loses all interest in other poetry. His admiration is not purely artistic. It is the self-satisfaction of the mathematician who solves a difficult problem. The constant problems provided by the Vedas keep the intellect hard at work. The ground has been scarcely broken and there is always the exciting hope of fresh discoveries. No doubt in time there will be as little left to explorers of the Veda as the Germans and Mr. Lang have left to the explorers of Homer. At present, however, Prof. Macdonell is doing pioneer work and to such effect that, for many years, his Vedic grammar must hold the field.

It is unfortunate that his book does not contain the Sanskrit in the Nāgarī script. Transliteration is always unsatisfactory, especially so when Sandhi is illustrated. It is only on pages 78-79 when describing the Vedic accents that Professor Macdonell prints in Nāgarī. Space, of course, is saved, but, even as it is, the volume could not by any stretch of the imagination be called handy. Transliteration is unnatural, and unless one is accustomed to it, very hard to follow. The print, too, is not attractive.

To those who are beginning the study of the Veda, the completeness of Professor Macdonell's Grammar and the tremendous accumulation of examples may prove something like a deterrent. There is no real cause for alarm. The general principles can be early picked out from the mass of illustration, and as a book of reference the grammar should prove invaluable. We hope, however, that for the weaker vessels Professor Macdonell will publish a shorter volume on the lines of his grammar of classical Sanskrit.

Each chapter is headed with a formidable list of authorities, and the footnotes are equally full. A good illustration of completeness will be found on pp. 226-228. A few more references, perhaps to the actual passages where forms occur might have been given. It is hard to see on what principle the reference is given, or denied.

Perhaps the most interesting chapters in the book are those on Phonology, where an excellent account is given of

the curious cerebral ], and on Accent. The most forbidding chapter deals with the verb. No one, however, could make the Sanskrit verb—especially the Vedic edition—a subject for enthusiasm. We should like to have heard more about the Augment.

A. D. K.

## THE PANCHATANTRA.

EDITED DR. JOHANNES HERTEL.

The only fault we have to find with Dr. Hertel's Edition of the Panchatantra is the terrible practice he has adopted of dividing the Sanskrit words and thus eliminating all the problems of Sandhi. Sanskrit without Sandhi is what one might imagine Greek would be like, if printed in Roman Characters, with "h" doing duty for a 'rough breathing.' The plea that to divide the words assists the beginner is completely false. If all Sanskrit were written with divided words, the plea might stand, as it is not, to divide the words only encourages the beginner in his incapacity. From the very first he must be taught to read Sanskrit as it is, and not as it might be written. You cannot put back the hands of the clock and make the old writers rewrite their works.

Though we may refuse to accept the defence of word-division, the introduction by Professor Lanman makes most interesting reading, and it is followed by some excellent MSS fac-similes. The Harvard Oriental Series is so well known for good print and good scholarship that it is only necessary to say that Dr. Hertel well maintains the high average of previous volumes. Some of the English headings of the various fables read rather quaintly but they are distinctly useful for reference purposes.

The text is based on an extensive collation of MSS. In the matter of readings there are the usual frequent but unimportant divergences which one has come to expect in every Edition of the Panchatantra. The Panchatantra is a beginner's book and Doctor Hertel's is an excellent beginner's Edition, too excellent in fact.

A. D. K.

## LLOYD'S TWENTIETH CENTURY IMPRESSIONS OF BURMA.

This is a handsomely bound volume of which 416 pages are devoted to Burma, while 302 pages deal with Japan. It contains articles by several well known men, e. g., the

Shan-States by Sir George Scott, and the Finances of Burma by Mr. M. F. Gauntlet; while the main object of the book is advertisement, it cannot be denied that there is also a great deal of information about the country written in a light popular view suited to tempt the jaded mind of the globe trotter. It would be perhaps too much to expect that the information should be always accurate. Some of the slips however are not wanting in humour, as where an I. C. S. Divisional Judge figures among the leading legal practitioners and is styled a Provisional Judge. In another place in one of the many photographic groups which embellish the volume, Mr. G. O. Stewart is transmitted to posterity wearing Mr. E. V. Holberton's face.

G. R.

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### "IMPRESSIONS OF BURMA."\*

Recently we commented at some length on "Twentieth Century Impressions of Burma," and a few further notes will, no doubt, be of interest to our readers. Of the articles written by non-officials one of the very best in our opinion, though it will not appeal to every one, is that on the religion of Burma by Bhikkhu Ananda M. We have never before read an account of Buddhism which brings out so clearly the essential points of that creed or explains so well the strong hold it has on the people of Burma. Whether the religion sketched in this article is really that of the mass of the people is, perhaps, open to question. The author does not claim that the whole of its adherents have risen to the higher heights. On the contrary, he points out that Buddhism graduates its teaching to suit all stages of moral progress. All Buddhist truth has been summed up in a single stanza which runs:—"To abstain from all evil; to fulfil all good; and to purify the heart—this is the teaching of the Buddha." The first clause of this stanza in practice becomes the five great precepts which are binding on every Buddhist. These precepts are: Not to take life; not to take property; not to commit impurity; not to lie or slander or use harsh speech; not to take intoxicating liquors. "But to the man who—albeit from the basest of all motives, fear—practises even the mere Five Precepts there comes an inward growth which makes him a nobler, hence a happier man. For all that *sīla* is really self-renunciation; and when growing thus wiser, the humblest follower of the Master comes to the second stage of growth, then the law speaks a new, a greater message of *dāna*, charity and love." There

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\* Reprinted from the Rangoon Gazette's 'Leader'

is inevitably something of this gradation in all creeds. The conception of their doctrines must vary according to the mental powers of the various votaries, but even the least intellectual can grasp the essential point underlying all creeds, namely, that the path of progress lies in self-renunciation and that real religious advance depends on the practice of this virtue far more than on any intellectual understanding of its dogmas. When Judaism and Mahomedanism insist on submission to the will of God and on obedience to His commandments, they are demanding self-renunciation no less than Christianity and Buddhism, both of which express more clearly that self-renunciation is the only path to peace. Bhikkhu Ananda M. does not, of course, make this comparison with other creeds. He is explaining Buddhism and he does that remarkably well. The whole of his article is well worth reading.

Another very interesting contribution is the one on Burmese nanners and customs by Maung May Oung. After describing the life of the people he says: "It has also been said that in Burma there is a very thin veneer of Buddhism over nat (spirit) worship, but a very slight acquaintance with our inner life and our literature will suffice to show the error of such a statement. It is perfectly true that the people of this land were spirit worshippers in pre-Buddhist times (c. f. early Egyptian, Greek and Roman beliefs, and Druidism), and also that a great many superstitions and customs have survived among the people to the present day, but no one who has been taught the most elementary tenets of Buddhism believes in nats and demons. Many Buddhists (and most of them are women) perform mysterious rites unknown to Buddhism, but it is the result of an inexorable *tone-zan* (custom) which, like many other customs, is rapidly dying out." Maung May Oung might have referred, though he refrains from doing so, those who taunt the Burmese with nat worship to Frazer's "Golden Bough" in which a remarkable array of facts is brought forward to prove that many pre-Christian beliefs survive in Europe to this day in the customs of the peasantry.

It is impossible in the space at our disposal to mention all the other articles, but we would mention one on teak by Mr. E. J. Foucar of Maulmain, who has had many years' experience of the timber trade. We must also point out a mistake, inadvertently made no doubt, in a reference to a former editor of this paper (Rangoon Gazette). The passage runs:—"The paper, hower, had hardly been in existence four years when Mr. Caddy died, and he was succeeded by Mr. J. C. Chanter. Under his direction the circulation of the paper

and its number of advertisements increased rapidly and in 1887 he purchased the whole concern. Towards the end of that year, however, Mr. Chanter mysteriously disappeared. His health had been far from good, and he left the paper in charge of Mr. F. N. Burn, his intention being to visit England. He was traced as far as Paris, but there all clue as to his whereabouts was lost. What was his fate was never known." The date 1887 is manifestly a mistake for 1867, which was about the time Mr. Chanter left Burma. If that were the only mistake, we need not have noticed it, but the rest of the passage casts a slur on Mr. Chanter which is quite undeserved, we think. Any way, the writer met him in London last year, and he gave a very different version of the affair, which it is only fair to put on record. Mr. Chanter says he was unlucky enough to catch small-pox; on his recovery, he could not get back his strength and the doctor insisted on his going to England to recruit. To do so, he had to mortgage the press. Even in England his strength came back very slowly, and one day he received an intimation from Rangoon that the mortgagees had foreclosed and his property had been sold. He had not the means to return to Rangoon, and it would have been no use his doing so, even if he had, as the press was no longer his. The discrepancy in these two accounts of an affair which happened a little over forty years ago is an excellent example of the difficulty of getting at facts even when they are in the recollection of men still living.

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## YUNNAN, THE LINK BETWEEN INDIA AND THE YANGTZE.

BY MAJOR DAVIES 1909 (*Cambridge University Press*).

This work is and for a considerable time to come is likely to remain the standard book upon that part of China which lies across the Burmese frontier.

Whatever may be the reader's interests, whether railway development, geographical observation or ethnology he will find in Major Davies' volume a mine of information. The writer's acquaintance with the Chinese frontier dates from 1888, but his first ambitious itinerary was undertaken in 1894. Subsequent journeys during 1898, 1899 and 1900 provide the subject matter of the work before us. Of the 5,500 miles which the author had traversed in Yunnan more than half seems to have been through country not previously visited by a European traveller.

Perhaps the subject of most immediate interest to the resident in Burma is the author's views on the extension of the Burmese Railway systems into China. On this question Major Davies is a strong supporter of the Kunlôn Ferry route.

After a discussion of the question in the first three chapters the author summarises the position as follows. To keep our share in the trade of Western Yunnan the Burma Railway should be extended from Lashio to Kunlôn Ferry and then extended to Yun Chou a distance of 250 miles with a view to its ultimate extension eastwards to the Yangtze valley. While the proposed railway from Bhamo to Teng-Yüch if extended to Hsia-Kuan would be a formidable rival of the Kunlôn Ferry scheme, it is likely to be ineffective in retaining the trade of Western Yunnan if it stops at Jeng-Yüch.

The subsequent chapters describe the several journeys and the country through which they were made. The author's close observation adds greatly to our knowledge, not only of the Chinese Shans but also the Eastern Tibetans, Lolos, Achangs and many other races inhabiting these regions.

In several appendices Major Davies discussed the population of Yunnan which he estimates at 9,600,000, the climate and production, and a detailed account of the nature of the proposed railway lines. Appendix VIII consists of some 70 pages upon the tribes of the country and a classification of them according to language. Not the least useful part of the book is a large map of the Province.

G. R.

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### LOGIC IN BURMESE.

The most recent contribution to Burmese literature, unique in its annals, is Maung Shwe Zan Aung's "Logic in Burmese." Hitherto, that Science of Sciences was unknown to Burmans, though indeed Pali Grammarians have stepped into the province of Logic and treated of Terms. In the *Pitakat-thamaing*—a comprehensive bibliography published by the Pyi Gyi Mundyne Press—there appears a list of logical works (လောကီ), but they are in Sanskrit, and apparently have never been translated into Pali. As a consequence, Pali scholars in Burma speak of the Five Ordinary Courses of Study (သင်တန်းငါး) as including Grammar, Dictionary, Prosody, Rhetoric and *Kalāpa* (ကလောပ). The last named, however, is a Sanskrit Grammatical work, which happened at some time to have been rendered into



Burmese characters with some diacritical marks. Unless, therefore, by the inclusion of *Kalāpa*, a "second language" was intended, the fifth subject of the Burmese "Arts" course is still missing. And this gap is very suitably filled up by the work under review. It is entitled *Takkika-nayadīpanī*, or shortly *Tat-kyan* (Pali root *တတ်*—'to reason'). It is published by the Kawi-myet-mhan Press (Rs. 1/8), and consists of 36 chapters extending over 400 pages.

On the title page the author informs us that the work is based on Jevons, adapted to Burma. After setting forth different kinds of reasoning in the preface, the writer, in his opening chapter, deals with the 'object' of Logic. The author carefully distinguishes a *Takki* ('a reasoner') from a *Takkiko* ('a logician'). A burnt child who dreads the fire is a *Takki* but not a *Takkiko*. The former is liable to become a *Takka-dvanda* (တက္ကသုတ—'a sophist'). A logical work entitled *Takkika-Siromani*, wrongly classed with Grammar in the Bernard Free Library, is referred to. It is also pointed out that the logician Vinita-deva described the Lord Buddha as the most excellent of all logicians. Advantages accruing from the study of logic are also shown. The second chapter treats of the Sphere and Province of Logic. Logic is defined and shown to be both a science and an art. It is suggested that the ancient seat of learning, Taxila, (a corruption of the Pali *Takka-sīla*; Bur. တက္ကသီလ), was so named because the Science of Sciences and Art of Arts was systematically taught there before everything else. The third chapter sets forth the three parts of Logic,—Terms (*pada*), Propositions, (*paṭiññā*), and Syllogisms (*nyāya*),—and briefly describes the three corresponding stages in the operations of Mind, according to Buddhist psychology. The author refers to the difference of views on General Motion (*Jāti-paṇṇatti*) between *Byāti*, the Realist, and *Pāja-byāyano*, the Nominalist. He also points out that the author of a logico-grammatical work entitled *Sadattha-bheda-cintā* borrowed such terms as *Paṭiññā*, *Udāharaṇa* (major premise), *Upanayana* (minor premise), and *Nigamana* (conclusion) from Logic. The author next indicates how the five parts of the Indian Syllogism (as treated of, for example, in *Takka-saṅgaha*, a compendium of Logic by Annam-bhatta) are reducible to the three parts of the European Syllogism. The fourth chapter deals exhaustively with Terms or Names as treated of in native grammars and in European Logic. In the next chapter, on the 'Ambiguity of Terms', Burmese examples, which cannot fail to interest students of the language, are given, as also in the seventh chapter, on the 'Growth of Language!

The sixth Chapter treats of the Denotation (*dabbattha*) and the Connotation (*sakattha*) of Terms. According to native logico-grammarians every term is connotative. The eighth Chapter is on 'Knowledge.' In dealing with the four characteristics of Knowledge—clearness, distinctness, adequacy and certainty—the author has taken the opportunity of warning Burman preachers, who generally treat physical sciences with contempt, against abuses of the illustrations of Buddhist doctrines in their discourses to audiences equally ignorant of the physical phenomena talked about; they are stigmatised as affording examples of the blind leading the blind. The difference between a grammatical sentence and a logical proposition is fully described in Chapter IX; also, the various kinds of Propositions in Chapter X, wherein the author adopts the Pali-Burmese equivalents of  $\text{A-E-I-O}$  respectively, and ingeniously explains how the symbols can be got from the Pali terms adopted for the four classes of Propositions. The force of 'some' in English and in Burmese is explained,—this being an important necessity. The Chapter on the 'Theory of Predication and the Import of Propositions' is [not from Jevons; in it the views of Hamilton, Mill, Mansel, Martineau, Ueberweg, Hobbes, and Bain are compared. The twelfth chapter treats of the 'Opposition of Propositions.' The author illustrates the 'import of propositions' by the usual circle diagrams, and the relations of the contradictories, contraries, sub-contraries and sub-alterns by the square diagram. By a happy concept, the writer has rendered 'sub-alternates' by *antogamya* (the container,) and 'sub-alternans' by *antogata* (the contained,) and speaks of the relation itself as *antogamana*. Chapter XIII deals with the 'Conversion of Propositions and Immediate Inference.' In the next, the five Predicables—genus, species, difference, accident, and property—are defined and explained. The Tree of Pophyri is given with Burmese Buddhist concepts. Following this, the rules of Division are dealt with. In describing logical Division as distinct from physical or metaphysical, the author gives instances from Buddhist philosophy; he further distinguishes Chemical Division from the purely physical. Lastly, the rules and faults of Definition are clearly explained. In the Chapter on 'Logical Method,' the author urges Burman Buddhists, who rely too much on authority, not to accept anything without adequate reason. He who knows not how to subject the authority to an examination before the tribunal of reason is like a school-boy; he who dares not is like a coward; he who cares not is like one who does not respect the authority. In the next chapter, the author describes

the Laws of Thought, and examines the famous *amarā-vikkhepa* heresy (the heresy of jumping from one position to another like the *amarā* fish) in the light of these laws. He defends the Buddhist position with reference to the question of affirming or denying existence in Nirvāṇa. The Canons of the Syllogism are next treated of, and finally Aristotle's *Dictum de omni et nullo* is explained. The two following Chapters deal with the 'Rules of the Syllogism' and the 'Moods and Figures of the Syllogism.' In Chapter XIX, on the 'Reduction of the Imperfect Figures', the usual mnemonic verse of *barbara celerent*, etc., has been put into Burmese doggerel. Under Irregular and Compound Syllogisms in Chapter XX, Burmese enthymemes are given. The author examines some of the Ten Great Sayings (ဆကောဋ္ဌိ:ဆယ် နှိန့်) under the Third Order. Prosyllogisms, episyllogisms and epichetrema are next dealt with. Hypothetical and Disjunctive Syllogisms are treated of in the next chapter, and the author gives the *yezit-kayā* speech as an example of Dilemma. The next two chapters deal with Fallacies, Logical and Material. Under *Petitio Principii*, the commentarial argument in a circle respecting the heart as the physical basis of Consciousness will appear to our *pongyis* as a piece of very tough meat. The twenty-fourth chapter notices the Quantification of the Predicate. The next on 'Probability and Probable Reasoning' is also not from Jevons. Chapter XXVI deals with Methods, Synthetic and Analytic; XXVII with Geometrical, Mathematical and Analogical Reasonings. Observation and experiment are treated of in chapter XXIX; the author renders 'Baconian Method' into Burmese by ဗေဒနိနိဒါန. Mill's Canons are explained in the chapter on Methods of Induction, followed by one on Quantitative Induction. Chapter XXXII expounds the Mixed Methods of Induction and Deduction. In the next, which explains Fact, Tendency, Hypothesis and Theory, the author introduces an example from the *Mahosadha Jataka Vathu*, and also the well-known story of Maung Nyan, Maung Kan and Maung Viriya, to illustrate how 'hypothesis' is formed from 'observation' and then verified by a reference to 'facts'. The last three chapters are on 'classification and Abstraction,' 'Requisites of a Philosophical Language,' and 'Fallacies of Induction'. A list of Indian Logical works is given in the appendix.

It will thus be seen that, although the work follows, more or less, that of Jevons in arrangement, it is not a mere translation. It is quite original in matter. Local and Scriptural examples have been carefully selected, and many passages have a tendency towards assisting reform in habits

of thought, manners, customs and character of Burmans, to whom the scientific examples will also be instructive. Burmese proverbs have in many places been incorporated in the text. Moreover, the author has taken great pains to present the science as clearly as possible. The style of the work, as a modern classic to be read by students of Burmese, leaves little or nothing to be desired.

M. O.

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### “PSALMS OF THE SISTERS.”

Readers of Pāli literature, both in the original and in translation, are greatly indebted to Mrs. Rhys Davids for her latest book, “Psalms of the Sisters,” which is a translation into English blank verse of the ‘Therī-gāthā’ of the Pāli canon. These gāthas or stanzas constitute the second portion—being the verses ascribed to the Sisters—of the book entitled, ‘Therā-therī-gāthā,’ i. e., verses ascribed to the Elders, Brethren and Sisters. The translation is preceded by a masterly introduction which gives an able analysis of the verses. The materials from which we draw our present knowledge of Pāli literature are not as yet sufficient to enable us to unravel successfully some of the knotty points that confront us in these verses, e. g., whether these venerable ladies actually spoke in verse and how many of them are historical persons and how many legendary. It remains for the future to reveal to us the means whereby we shall be able to solve these questions. As Mrs. Rhys Davids says, “It lies with future historians of the Pāli Canon as a whole to deal with these baffling questions” (Introduction XXIII).

However it may be, the Psalms are a record of the mental strivings and intellectual struggles of the ladies of old for the attainment of arahantship. They enable us to ascertain, to a great extent, the status of woman in India of those times. And it speaks much for the religious toleration of ancient Indians that women—whatever their status as laywomen might have been—should be allowed to claim equality with men in religious matters. Men in search of Truth were then in the habit of roaming about the country discussing, with each other and with teachers of other sects, on questions of ethics and philosophy. And it was the usual thing for him who lost in the discussion to become the disciple of his opponent. Some of these Wanderers (Paribbajakā), as they were called, were women, and we

read in the book under review how a Jain lady, Nanduttarā, (Ps. XLII), a renowned speaker, met Mahā Moggallāna (one of the Buddha's greatest apostles) and suffering defeat in debate, entered the Order. Sakulā (Ps. XLIV) furnishes another instance of a woman who renounced the world as a Wanderer to enter afterwards the Buddhist Order in consequence of a defeat she suffered in discussion with an 'Arahant brother.' And the story of Bhaddā, the Curlyhair, (Ps. XLVI) contains an interesting account of the manner in which these discussions were carried on. "When Bhaddā found none equal to debate with her, she made a heap of sand at the gate of some village or town, and in it set up the branch of a rose-apple, and told children to watch near it, saying: 'whoever is able to join issue with me in debate, let him trample on this bough.' Then she went to her dwelling, and if after a week the bough still stood, she took it and departed." And so, the story goes on to say, once, Sāriputta came across the bough set up by Curlyhair at the gate of Sāvattthi. The Elder wishing to tame her told the children to trample on it, in consequence of which act, there ensued a debate, in which Curlyhair suffered defeat and was converted.

The attainment of the Peace of Emancipation is, of course, the chief motive that drove the Elder—Sister or Brother—into embracing the ascetic life. But apart from that, the motives recorded of the Sisters are more diverse and more difficult to Analyse than those recorded of the Brethren. Else, what man can strike with unerring precision every note in the wide range of the gamut of feelings, given vent to by these women—feelings that are the outcome of the anguish due, in most cases, to the troubles of the 'house-life'? Would such expressions as this—

Home have I left, for I have left my world!

Child have I left, and all my cherished herds! (v. 18).  
find the same pathetic utterance from the mouth of the father as from that of the mother—mātar—a word, be it noted, that conveys to the Indian mind the idea of a person to be revered and respected for having *measured out* food to each one of her family? And who knows from what depths of anguish of heart the following words were uttered?

Me stained and squalid 'mong my cooking-pots

My brutal husband ranked as even less

Than the sunshades he sits and weaves away, (v. 23).

Such are a few of the motives that drove these women into the home-less life. It is no wonder, therefore, that they, on attaining emancipation should sing with such rapture of heart as this :—

'O free indeed! O Gloriously free am I!' (Ps. XI, XXI).

With regard to the translation itself, there is little to be said except to give credit to Mrs. Rhys Davids for the excellence of her work. We consider it immaterial whether the translation is in verse or in prose. Excellence in translations consists in faithfully conveying the sense of the original in a language which is neither too free nor too close. It is the translator's abilities that shall decide whether the version is to be left in the bare prose form or to be adorned with the flowery language of the poets. So long as the version is faithful to the sense of the original, the purpose is served. In the present work, Mrs. Rhys Davids has given us a translation in English blank verse, which besides being a faithful version, conveys (as anticipated by her in the introduction) "Something of the poetic and religious feeling of the metrical original." And we congratulate Mrs. Rhys Davids for her success in adding to the list of her works a book which is as interesting to the 'general reader' as it is valuable to scholars. And we wish the same success in her forthcoming work, "Psalms of the Brethren."

M. T.

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### "PALI LITERATURE OF BURMA."

It will be evident to every reader that Mrs. Mabel Bode in her last work, "The Pali Literature of Burma" (published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland), has not only produced a work of great merit and scholarship, but one which, while throwing light on some phases of the history of literature in Burma, will no doubt also give, it is at least to be hoped, an impetus to studies in a field of learning which, vast and interesting as it is, has not yet been explored; indeed, with the exception of the present essay, nothing serious has, up to now, been written on the subject. As its title indicates, Mrs. Bode's work treats exclusively of the Pali Literature in Burma, touching only incidentally and very briefly on the Sanskrit literature of the country. It is very desirable that similar essays on poetry, the theatre, the historical literature, as well as on the tantric and dharāṇi works should also be written.

In speaking of the introduction of Buddhist culture and literature in Trans-Gangetic India, Mrs. Bode wisely refrains from even mentioning the wonderful history of Tapussa and Bhallika, the two brothers who are said by the Burmese, following the Talaings, to have brought some of the Buddha's hairs to Rangoon where they are enshrined under the Shwe

Dagon, and to have, thereby, inaugurated the reign of Buddhism as a national religion in Burma. Although the two brothers are mentioned in one of the earliest Pali works (*Mahāvagga*), and in some of the Northern Buddhist books, there is nothing to prove they came to Burma; on the contrary, all the evidence goes against the Burmese fable. The whole story, like many others, rests on no sounder foundation than fabricated geography. She also rejects, as indeed all sensible writers do, the alleged mission of Soṇa and Uttara to Thaton. In fact almost nothing is known of the introduction of Buddhism to Burma and of the consequent introduction of literature, and the author has done well not to enter into a discussion of suppositions, which would be, in the present state of our knowledge, idle, until we have more material to work upon. Her history of the Pali literature, therefore, begins with King Anoratha, in the eleventh century, and ends with the nineteenth century.

She has chiefly depended for her information, on three works: the *Sāsanavamsa*, the *Gandhavamsa* and the *Pitakat Thamaing*; which latter is nothing much more than a list of books with the names of their authors. It is to be regretted Mrs. Bode had not the opportunity to consult the *Sāsana-lankāra*, the *Pitakat Kye Hmon*, the *Kabya Kye Hmon* and one or two other works bearing on the subject, in which she would have found additional information and some statements which might perhaps have changed her views on several points.

The author gives us from the sources at her disposal, a very interesting picture of the development of Pali literature in this Province. The subject assumes, under her pen, a charm which carries the reader on to the end of the book, even if he be at first startled by strange names, barbarous to his ear, and some dreadful Indian polysyllabics. Her pictures of, in some cases, the childish disagreements among monks on minor points of discipline, disagreements which grew into sects; of the good housewives of Pagan eagerly learning Pali grammar; of the two very greatest poets of Burma being despised and ignored by their brother-monks because they wrote poetry; and many others, are very delightful.

But I can follow Mrs. Bode no further when she tells us (p. 4) that "Burmese tradition adds to the fifteen ancient texts of the *Khuddakanikāya* four other works—the *Milindapañha*, the *Suttasaṅgaha*, the *Petakopadesa* and the *Netti* or *Nettipakaraṇa*" (*Piṭakatthamain*, p. 12, 13—it should be p. 17, 18). It may be she has not understood her text, or, rather, she is not yet familiar enough with the Burmese

tradition. No educated Burman, lay or monk, ever included these four works among the Piṭaka books of the Khudda-kanikāya: they are placed after the books of the Khuddaka because only of their intrinsic value (this applies to the first and last two, the second being merely a collection of Suttas) as a help to the study of the Scriptures; and in the Piṭakatthamain itself (p. 17) the mention of these four works is separated from that of the books of the Khuddaka by a Pāli stanza and its translation, in which it is said that the Khuddaka has only 15 books. In several places Mrs. Bode tells us that Jambudīpa (India) is, by the Burmese, taken, in most cases, to mean "Burma." Such is not the case. Although the geographical knowledge of the Burmese is singularly limited, yet there are three countries which they never confuse: India (Jambudīpa,) Ceylon (Lankā,) and Burma (Aparanta); they simply include Burma in Jambudīpa; to say they call Burma Jambudīpa is a misapprehension of the text. In speaking of the author of the first Pāli work in Burma (the Saddanīti), Mrs. Bode (p. 16, note 3) points out a confusion which might arise between the names of two authors; but all Burmese authorities are clear on the subject. Aggavamsa, the author of the Saddanīti, was the nephew of Aggapaṇḍita the author of Lokupattipakāsani, and this Aggapaṇḍita had been the pupil of a man renowned far and wide for his knowledge of Sanskrit (the author does not mention this important fact), Mahāaggapaṇḍita.

"Pabbatabhantara" (p. 43) as the name of one of the gems of Burmese poetry, is totally unknown to the vast majority of the people. The work is still much prized and known under the name Taung Dwin Lā (တောင်ဒွင်လှ). In speaking of Raṭṭhavamsa, perhaps the greatest of all Burmese poets, although some Burmese prefer Ariyavamsa, the author says "he may have been a good verse maker." The expression is rather disparaging to a poet with undying fame; the fact is he was a marvellous handler of words and a poet, not merely a rhymist.

On page 47, there is an interesting note on a work called Upātasanti, in which it is said "the work would appear to treat of rites or charms for averting evil omens or public calamities." The words "would appear" should be expunged; it is such a book, as mentioned in the Sāsanalaṅkārasadan (p. 79), where it is also said that an invading Chinese army was routed and destroyed by the mere recital of this book. The list of Sanskrit works mentioned in an inscription of 1442 A. D., and given at the end of the volume, will have to be carefully revised, for a few of the identifications are erroneous.



Considering the book is a pioneer work, it contains singularly few errors, and the author is to be congratulated on having given us a work as interesting as it is scholarly.

C. D.

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### "BURMA THROUGH THE CENTURIES."

There has appeared a little volume entitled "Burma Through the Centuries," by Mr. John Stuart, the Managing Proprietor, *Rangoon Gazette*, and published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., of London (2s 6d). It is a history of Burma made readable, and as such, there can be no doubt, will be welcomed by the whole European population of this country, as well as by a great number of English-reading Burmans, who will now be able to make themselves acquainted with the somewhat intricate history of Burma from the earliest times up to 1900 A.D. The only work we have had up to now on the subject was the work, become quasi-classical of Sir Arthur Phayre. But in the words of Mr. Stuart, and herein we fully agree with him, "valuable as that book is, it is scarcely the book which the business man of scant leisure resident in the country, or the visitor, is likely to read. For one thing, to the European reader at least, the profusion of native names introduced is very confusing. It is difficult to remember names so unfamiliar, and one is constantly turning back to see who this or the other person is." This is true, but it must be remembered that Sir Arthur Phayre wrote rather for scholars and students of Far-Eastern history than for the public at large, and that to such, its "wealth in matters of comparatively little importance," is in some cases precious. But the fact remains that we have had as yet no handbook which the general public might read with pleasure and profit and without fatigue or boredom, and to Mr. Stuart is due the credit of having undertaken to supply this want, and he has done his task well. Every European in Burma should have "Burma Through the Centuries" on his book-shelves, for he will now no longer be able to plead the difficulty of acquiring even a superficial knowledge of the subject.

Comparatively very little is known of the "prehistoric" period, that is, of the period extending from the earliest times to about the 11th century A. D., in which we begin to tread on firm historical ground. From the 11th century onwards there can be little doubt as to the general accuracy of the history as recorded in the national chronicles, for

they are, in not a few cases, corroborated by the annals of surrounding countries, and especially by the reports to the Throne of Chinese consuls or envoys to Burma, as well as in independent Chinese histories; it is also from similar Chinese sources that the little that is known of "prehistoric" Burma has been and must continue to be gathered. From the 11th or 12th century onwards, the history of Burma is now pretty well established in its main outlines, and as told by Mr. Stuart, presents no difficulty to the reader. To scholars even it hardly offers any ground for controversy, except in details in which the general public feel no interest. Quite different is the case concerning the period before those two centuries; little is known of it, and it is just this period which is the most important for a right understanding of the conditions, social and religious, now obtaining in the country. It was during this so-called prehistoric period that influences crept over Burma which have left so deep traces on the mind and language of the people: Northern Buddhism and Tantricism from the north-west; Southern Buddhism, Brahmanism and popular Hinduism from the south and south-west. As to the north-east, Burma was comparatively little influenced from that side by China, at least during the earliest centuries of the Christian era, for Yunnan formed for a long time an insuperable barrier between China and Burma. In fact, it was Burma—and this has not yet been fully or willingly recognised—that deeply influenced Yunnan, or as it was then in part known, Nan-Tchao. The few remarks we offer will consequently bear principally on this period. Mr. Stuart says little of all these influences, and the first two chapters, in which they ought to have been treated of, are thereby rendered rather meagre. It is true he writes for the public at large, but even a great majority of the public would have been glad to have fuller information on those far-away times of which the Burmese themselves have kept no records and of which they have lost the memory. The two chapters, meagre though they be, have been well conceived and clearly written, and contain information which will be new to most readers who have not made the history of Indo-China as a whole a study; it is perhaps the part of the book which will be read with most interest.

The first chapter tells us of the waves of immigration which have swept over the land in early times, pushing before them the Negrito race; the last wave were the Tibeto-Burman tribes, who came probably from Eastern Tibet; then the first colonisation of Upper Burma by Indians from the north-west is dwelt upon and the traditional history of the Burmese is retold after Phayre, who himself followed

the national chronicles; the introduction of Buddhism is slightly touched upon, and the chapter closes with the year 639 A.D., the year in which the era now in use was introduced. In speaking of the Talaings Mr. Stuart cites two derivations of this name, which is unknown to the Talaings themselves as a national designation, but he prudently refrains from choosing between the two. The origin of this name has provoked some controversy, but it is probable that the opinion of Sir Arthur Phayre, deriving it from Telingana or rather Talinga, is the right one. The other derivation, asserting that Talaing means "the down-trodden," a name given to them by Alompra in the 18th century, did not originate with Gray, as Mr. Stuart thinks, but with Dr. Forchhammer; and no serious reader can accept it; moreover, the Burmese seem to have known the name before Alompra. The name came probably to be applied to the Mons (Talaings) from the number of Indians settled in their midst, and who came from Kalinga otherwise called Talinga. It is well known that, even now, the Indians in the Malay Peninsula and in Siam, are designated as Kling, a corruption of Kalinga of which Talinga is a synonym. Dr. Forchhammer was unhappy in some of his derivations; his explanation of the Burmese name for Bassein is amusing, and against all the rules of critical etymology.

The introduction of Buddhism into Burma is still a vexed question. Mr. Stuart shortly discusses it, but he brings us no new knowledge and he is rather vague. The traditional account is that two missionaries were sent to Burma after the Council held at Patna under the Emperor Asoka. Unfortunately, there is absolutely nothing to prove this. This Council of Patna is in all probability legendary; with the exception perhaps of the Mission of Mahendra to Ceylon the other missions spoken of as sent to divers countries at that period are probably myths, although several centuries later missionaries did find their way to distant lands, and this no doubt gave rise to the stories of the earlier missions. Strange to say, the Buddhist mission on which the gravest doubts rest as to its authenticity is precisely the mission of Soṇa and Uttara to Burma. It can now be without the least doubt accepted that Buddhism entered Burma through the north west, that is through Manipur and Assam, and in the south from India also. The crux is, at what time did this introduction take place? This question has not yet been satisfactorily settled, and shall not be, so long as the legends recorded in Burmese histories and in some of the Pāli commentaries of the 5th century A.D., are taken as gospel truth. On the other side, it is more than improbable,

in fact impossible, for Buddhism to have been introduced from the north-east, that is, from the central provinces of China through Yunnan, or from Yunnan itself, for up to the middle of the 8th century A.D., the tribes of Yunnan and Tongking formed a formidable barrier against China, which she was not able to break through for long centuries; it is only in the middle of the 8th century that this barrier was broken down. Burma feared much the Thais established in Nan-Tchao or Yunnan, but far from Yunnan influencing Burma it is on the contrary the latter which deeply influenced Nan-Tchao.

Another myth is the story of Buddhaghosa, the greatest of Buddhist divines, who is supposed to have visited Thaton in the early part of the 5th century A.D., and to have imparted new vigour to the religion at that place. The Talaings claim him as one of their countrymen; but they do so against all evidence, for, from the very character of his earlier works (those he wrote before he went to Ceylon), as well as from the evidence of many later Pāli books, he was a native of India and his monumental task in Ceylon finished, it is distinctly stated he went back to India. Had the renovator of the Buddhist Church come to Burma, would not the fact have been recorded in the short scraps of information about him found scattered in many writings? Would the whole Buddhist world have ignored it, with the sole exception of the Talaings? Really little is known about Buddhaghosa, and his very existence has been doubted. The very monumentality of his work has made some think that "Buddhaghosa" was perhaps the name of a school, or of a period of renaissance become personified. We would not go so far; but from the notices of him found in many books it can certainly be proved he never visited Burma. The remarkable revival of Buddhism which seems to have taken place in the Talaing country in the 5th century is probably to be attributed to nothing else but to the influence of the extraordinary literary activity which was just then renovating Ceylon.

Mr. Stuart is not quite correct when speaking of the Aris and the Nāga worship, and their suppression. The Aris were the priests of that religion, if it may be so called, which flourished in Burma from a very early date in the Christian era. It cannot correctly be said they were "the priests of of the Nāga worship"; they were the priests of that religious medley which was made up of Mahāyānism, Tantraism, Shivaism and Nāga worship, which existed not only in Burma, but in almost all Indo-China. I think it is going too far to say "the point to be considered here is that if the

introduction of a heresy is thought of sufficient importance to be chronicled early in the sixth century, the inference is that something approaching orthodox Buddhism had been the accepted religion among the Burmese for a considerable time—possibly for centuries—before;" for the Nāga worship, Mr. Stuart tells us, was introduced into Burma in the 6th century. There is absolutely nothing anywhere to corroborate this statement. But it may be urged, this very statement of the introduction of the Nāga worship into Burma in the 6th century is made in the Burmese histories. This is true, but it must be remembered the Burmese chronicles were composed at the very least eight or ten centuries, and rather more, after this alleged introduction, and therefore the categorical statement (given in the chronicles) that the Aris and their religion came to Burma exactly in 513 A. D. cannot be accepted without further consideration, unless it be admitted the Burmese had a wonderful gift of remembering exact dates. They had not this gift, not even to remembering events which proved nearly a national calamity several centuries later than the seventh. For instance, two invasions from Yunnan recorded in Chinese histories, but so completely forgotten by the Burmese that they are not even mentioned either in inscriptions or in the chronicles. They apparently possessed no help to memory; for although writing may have been known long before, there is absolutely no proof that the Burmese knew the art of writing as applied to the Burmese language, before the 10th century. The record of this introduction is merely an after-thought of very much later writers. Our opinion is that the Nāga worship at least, found its way through Burma very much earlier than the sixth century A. D., through Manipur, mentioned in some Sanskrit works as the reputed centre of this worship, as the names by which it was known of yore, and is still known, amply indicates; for Manipur is known as Nāgashyanta and Nāgapura. From the record (more than a thousand years afterwards) of such a "heresy," it cannot necessarily be inferred that something approaching orthodox Buddhism had existed in Burma (it can be here a question only of Upper Burma, that is, Burma proper) long before that, viz., before the 6th century. All probabilities are against this, as well as, indeed, the Burmese chronicles and the most trustworthy Burmese authors and the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon written before and after the fifth century. The Pagan Rajavan and other serious works are categorical on this point, as well as the Mahāvamsa. Buddhism, that is, any form of orthodox Buddhism, did not exist in Burma proper before the tenth century. By orthodox Buddhism must be understood

Hinayānism or Southern Buddhism, for the Northern Buddhists themselves acknowledge the claim of the Hinayānists to a far greater antiquity and orthodoxy. The Nāga worship and the religion of the Aris was, it may be said, supreme in the land so far at least as the early part of the 10th century (*circa* 917 A. D.) We are told (in the Vohāralinatthadīpanī) that at that period the King erected a monstrous image of a nāga (cobra di capello) in a plantation, because the nation greatly revered the "serpent." This spirit was so strong at this time, a very few decades before writing came into pretty general use, that officers of state were given honorary titles in which the name of the worship was prominent, such for instance, as Nāgasaman. It is a truism to say that a well-established religion deeply influences the mind of a nation, its language and even the titles of the state dignitaries. If then, about forty years before the introduction of orthodox Buddhism in Pagan, the nation and the king bowed to an image of the serpent, and the dignitaries of the state were known by titles of the Nāga worship, then neither Buddhism nor anything approaching orthodox Buddhism was really in the land, although a very corrupt form of Northern Buddhism was certainly known, but mixed up with Shamanism, Tantraism and Shivaism. It is well known how Buddhism, in any form, abhors the taking of life; still we are told that, in the 10th century (904 A. D. to be exact), extensive and dreadful animal sacrifices took place in the land, of thousands of buffaloes, cows, goats and fowls whose heads were hung in festoons between the pillars of the Nat temples; an enormous amount of liquor was imbibed by all from the king and queen downwards; the ceremonies were conducted by the Aris. This is hardly in favour of any form of Buddhism, especially orthodox Buddhism, having made much impression on the people. More than this; what actually amounted almost to human sacrifice, if it was not actually so, obtained at that period and long after it, for the purpose of obtaining rain (Vohāralinattha). It is altogether misleading to say, as Mr. Stuart does, that Anawrata, who ascended the throne in 1010 (which is not quite proved) "had difficulty in stamping out the heresy," that is, of the Aris. Very far from it; he simply introduced from Thaton a very pure form of Buddhism, which went on existing side by side with the other. The histories plainly affirm (and the statement is very strong as it is made unwillingly, and against the claims of Buddhism itself), that the last effort to stamp out the animal sacrifices, the Aris and Nāga worship was made by Sin Phyu Shin in 1555 A. D., and an inscription dated 1468 is a standing witness to the existence of the

Aris and consequently of the "medley" religion in that year at least. The Naga-Yon Temple at Pagan is another proof that Anawrata in 1057 did not stamp out the heresy. In fact, the European and the Burman of to-day who opens his eyes, can easily see that the Nāga has not yet been stamped out of the national art at least, for the Nāga is to be seen everywhere in Burma, artistically, but not very much transformed, in every carving of the pagodas, at the extremity of the common carts and in pictures and frames. The observant reader will easily detect the cobra (nāga) everywhere on the platform of the Shwe Dagon.

I would here protest against the generally accepted theory that King Anawrata, in 1057 A.D., destroyed Thaton from a religious impulse. Anawrata was probably no better Buddhist than his subjects. Everything seems to show that his arms were first directed against the alarmingly prosperous Hindu colonies of the sea-coast, and thence against the ever-growing power of the Talaings, whom he considered a standing danger. His motives were political, not religious.

The influences of neighbouring countries upon Burma during these early centuries of the Christian era are shortly summed up at the end of the first chapter. The author rightly says that "the civilising influences from India seem to have reached the Burmese of Upper Burma overland, though a long and difficult overland journey must have rendered such influences less frequent than in the case of the dwellers on the coast. Both the Burmese and the Talaings, however, seem to have looked to India for knowledge, and it was well for them that they did so just at the time when Buddhist propaganda was most active. It is owing to that fact that they have escaped entirely the caste system and all that it involves." There can be not the least doubt as to the enormous influence of India in Burma in those early centuries. It can be still traced in many superstitions, in the Burmese vocabulary, and in the ancient geographical names, above all of Lower Burma. It must be remembered that the influence from the coast (as implied in the extract above, but as is not generally recognised) was probably not very much less than that from the north-west. There were Indian settlements on the littoral probably anterior to the Christian era. Four are distinctly mentioned as being near and at the place we now call Rangoon; Twante, or, as it was anciently called, Pokkharani, was no doubt settled by Indians also. And they did not content themselves with remaining on the coasts, for they pushed rather far inland, and established themselves at Çrikshetra, now called Prome, even before our era; Prome, as its names

indicate (Rishi Myo, Vishnu Myo, etc.) was, at least for some centuries, altogether Hindu, and when Buddhism penetrated there, it did not displace Hinduism, but flourished side by side with it. Nothing absolutely certain is known about Buddhist missionaries coming to Burma by sea, though some must certainly have come; but their influence was not after all very great and was more than counterbalanced by Brahmanical influences. Brahmanism was almost paramount for several centuries in Thaton itself. We do not altogether agree with the proposition that it is owing to Buddhist propagandism that Burma escaped from the fetters of the caste system. The castes have never been firmly established outside of India itself, where the Brahmins possessed enormous influence and had the regal power to support them. In Burma, their number must have always been comparatively small compared with the rest of the population, and it is rather their amalgamation into the mass of the people that prevented the caste system from taking roots. As for the Shans they received their religion both from Indian missionaries from the north-west and from Burma. The influence of China on the Shans in the early centuries of our era was, from the religious stand-point, almost nil though indirectly felt, for as we have already said Yunnan, up to the middle of the 8th century, opposed an insuperable barrier to China, although a route was known before our era through which caravans went from China through the northern-most part of Burma, to Baktria, and some Buddhist missionaries, following the same route, are said to have gone to China as early even as the second century B. C. But the influence from that side, owing to the difficulties of the road and its dangers from hostile tribes, cannot have been great on the Shans. The Shans felt the full force of Chinese influence only after the 8th century, when Yunnan was subdued at last by the invading armies of China, above all after the great raid of Kublai Khan in the 13th century.

The second chapter, which treats of the period extending from A. D. 639 to 1010, is singularly interesting; for this chapter, the author follows chiefly Mr. Parker's "Burma, its Relations with China." Mr. Stuart, following Parker, describes the quasi-subjection of the Burmese Kingdom of that time to the Nan-Tchao, a then powerful kingdom occupying the greater part of Yunnan and whose inhabitants were probably Thais (Shans), and the influence of the Nan-Tchao on Burma. But he has here followed too closely Mr. Parker for, like him, he does not say a word of the influence exercised by Burma on the Nan-Tchao, an influence easily discernible in the Indianised names of Yunnan and of some of



its towns, Gandhāra, Mithila, etc.; also in the peculiar way some of the Nan-Tchao kings formed their titles which is unknown to China and the Thais, but has many parallels in Burma; and in certain Burmese legends which were current in the Nan-Tchao. A study of such influences, intellectual and religious rather than political, would be most interesting. Mr. Parker's work is an admirable little book, but we would advise readers to use it with care, especially as regards the geography, for he has not at all rightly apprehended it; and his efforts at derivation are not seldom erroneous.

The other chapters are a very interesting condensation of matter scattered over many publications, which the majority of readers could not have the leisure nor perhaps the inclination to peruse, even if the works were readily procurable. The period of Anawrata and his successors has been most cleverly elucidated from the scholarly but puzzling and fatiguing chapters of Phayre and forms a whole easy to grasp in its details, leaving a clear impression on the mind.

So also is the portion dealing with the relations, early and late, of Europeans with Burma, and the British expeditions and final annexation of the country; books, tracts and pamphlets on these subjects now form a respectable amount of literature, and, overcharged as they are in many cases with extraneous matter, their reading must be very careful and laborious, if one desire to gain a vivid impression of the sequel, and inter-connection of the events. Mr. Stuart has paved the way to an easy understanding of this complex chapter of the history of Burma. The facts of this (in its earlier stages) intensely romantic period, are set forth succinctly but clearly, and anyone who has mastered them will be able to tread his way with comparative ease through the maze of the voluminous literature on the subject.

The book would have gained had the result of personal original research been embodied in its pages, for even such matter can be made interesting when written in the easy style of Mr. Stuart. But his scruples are easy to understand: he wrote for the reader, and not for the scholar, as he tells us in his preface, and thus it is perhaps better that he abstained from embodying some matter, interesting perhaps more to the man who has a turn of mind for history, than to the one whose only desire is to obtain a clear purview of Burmese history. He has succeeded perfectly in his object, and the study of the history of this country, which was heretofore difficult and somewhat irritating, has been made agreeable and easy. It must have been no light task to accomplish; and all residents in Burma who take an interest in the country they live in and its amiable people,

will no doubt be grateful to have the little volume on their shelves.\*

C. D.

\* R. G.

### THE COMPENDIUM OF PHILOSOPHY.\*

Since first in Ceylon, now some thirty to forty years ago, the eminent scholar who is now generally recognised as the foremost occidental authority on Theravāda Buddhism and its sacred language, Māgadhi, realised the immense value of the great Pāli literature and decided to devote his life to making that literature and its contents known to the western world, one formidable obstacle has always stood in the way of an adequate interpretation of the third of the three Piṭakas, the Abhidhamma, the philosophical, metaphysical and psychological section of that literature, in which what we may term the subtler and deeper aspects of Buddhist teaching are enshrined. That difficulty has lain in the absence of a *nexus*, of a thought-path for the world-mind, as the Buddhist psychologist might express it,—in the lack of a human mind gifted with the power of interpretation, born in a Buddhist land and bred in the traditional Buddhist teaching, which at the same time should possess a sufficient acquaintance with western modes of thought and with western philosophic language to be able to render in our modern values this deeper treasure of the Buddha's lore.

This difficulty was absent in the case of the two other Piṭakas, the Vinaya and the Sutta, the Monastic Rule, and those Dialogues of the Master in which the poetry and ethics of the religion are set forth; the interpretation of these, for the most part, demanding only a full acquaintance with the language, a knowledge which the Pāli Text Society's great work has now made accessible to all conversant with the English tongue. But no grasp of the Māgadhi language, how great so ever, could take the place, for the western student studying in an occidental library, of that traditional exegesis of the profound Abhidhamma which is still living and current in the monasteries of Buddhist lands; any more

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\* *Compendium of Philosophy, being a translation now made for the first time from the original Pali of the Abhidhammattha-Sangaha, with introductory Essay and Notes*, By Shwe Zan Aung, B. A., revised and edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids, M. A. Published for the Pali Text Society by Henry Froude, London, 1910. On sale in Burma at the British Burma Press, Rangoon, price Rs. 5.

than a non-Christian scholar could deduce the subtler theologic theses of the Catholic Church from a perusal of the Testament in Greek.

So it followed that whilst of the five books of the Vinaya two have been already translated into English, and the whole five have been edited in Roman text; whilst of the Sutta the whole Long Collection has appeared in translation, and the Medium Collection (already translated into German) is now in course of preparation for the press, and several other English translations have appeared in *Sacred Books of the East* and elsewhere; for many years no attempt was made to render any work of the Abhidhamma into English or any western tongue. The honour of being the first to enter this great field of work belongs to Mrs. Rhys Davids, who, some few years ago, produced the shortest of the Abhidhamma treatises in English garb. (*Buddhist Psychology*, by C. A. F. Rhys Davids, M. A.)

All occidental students of Buddhism will well remember with what gratitude and admiration of the Authoress' abilities that first induction into the mysteries of the Abhidhamma was received; the clarity and profundity of the Introductory Essay, and the new light the whole work cast upon their views of the deeper Buddhist teaching. But valuable and indeed indispensable to the student as that work has now become, it dealt admittedly with but a portion of the Abhidhamma philosophy; standing, indeed, as it did, alone, most of us found far more enlightenment in the admirable Introduction than in closest study of the translated text. Of the whole great Abhidhamma literature, this was but the shortest Treatise; well-nigh indecipherable as it stood alone. What was needed was a preliminary introduction to the whole philosophy; a single work which should contain at least the fundamental details of all that is expounded in the Abhidhamma; and this need was one which, for the reason earlier mentioned, no occidental scholar, of however wide an erudition, could, lacking access to the traditional exegesis of the living religion, ever hope yet to supply.

This great desideratum has now most happily and efficiently been supplied in the *Compendium of Philosophy*, by Maung Shwe Zan Aung, B. A., edited and revised by the learned authoress of the *Buddhist Psychology*, lately published by the Pāli Text Society; a work, the appearance of which constitutes an epoch in the history of modern Buddhist scholarship and study, no less by the fact that it inaugurates the above-indicated essential combination of Eastern Buddhist with Western scholar, than by its own

immense integral value. Here for the first time in the history of modern research into the ancient Buddhist lore, we have a work produced by a Buddhist scholar, working in a Buddhist land with all the immense advantage which a life-long training, the actual religion, and free access to the living tradition of the monasteries confer; himself also a deep student of the western philosophical systems; and his work is rendered, if possible, of still greater value, by the revision and collaboration of one who may justly be admitted to be the foremost living occidental authority on the subject.

It is most appropriate, also, that this inauguration of a system every lover of Buddhism will hope to see more widely extended should first see light in Burma, and that in a work concerned with the Abhidhamma. For in Burma we find Buddhism at its purest, its Order the object of the well-merited reverence and devotion of a people, well-nigh every son of which has himself experienced the monastic life; and, of the three lands still faithful to the pure and original religion propounded by The Buddha, Burma has for many centuries been distinguished for an especial devotion to and learning in this very subject of the Abhidhamma. Even now, monks from Ceylon and Siam come yearly in numbers to study Abhidhamma under learned Burmese Theras; and its profound metaphysics often form the subject of the keenest discussion even by the laity, at the Uposatha-day reunions in every monastery rest-house.

It is in Burma, also, that the original of the work now under discussion, the Abhidhammattha-Saṅgaha (Burmese Thingyo), has for long held front place as a convenient introduction to the study of the Buddhist philosophy and psychology. Its Māgadhī title, *A Compendium of the Essence of the Abhidhamma*, itself summarises its contents and conveys its value to this end; and, as we learn from the most interesting Preface contributed by Mrs. Rhys Davids, this very work had already been recommended to the attention of occidental students of Buddhism in a benedictory letter sent by the late Sri Saddhūnanda Thera of Ceylon to the then new-born Pāli Text Society on the occasion of the first appearance of that Society's Journal in 1882.

And yet, for lack of knowledge of all the associations every phrase and word, almost, of this intensely-compressed manual conveys to the Buddhist trained from birth, the mere translation of the Saṅgaha itself would have been but of little service to the western student, now grappling for the first time with the study of the Abhidhamma. Well understanding how this result must necessarily follow, despite even the many elucidatory paragraphs added by the

Editor to well-nigh every page of the Text, the Author has added immensely to the value of his work by a general exposition of the whole groundwork of the Buddhist Philosophy, contained in an "Introductory Essay" occupying 76 pages of the "Compendium." Originating in a suggestion by the Editor that the Author should prefix to his work a revised and enlarged reproduction of his remarkable article on *The Processes of Thought in Buddhism*, he has made very much more of it, valuable though that article was. The essay, as it now stands, is an admirably methodical, concise and lucid exposition of Buddhist philosophy, from the standpoint of the Vithis or Mental Paths involved; forming just such an introduction to the whole Abhidhamma view-point as every Buddhist student in the west has for so long a time sought for in vain. Now for the first time, thanks to Maung Shwe Zan Aung, the occidental student who knows no Pāli is enabled in thought to enter the sealed Palace of the Mind; to watch, from the mental altitude of the world's greatest Teacher, the processes of the generation, duration and cessation of each several class of mental functioning; whilst the student of philosophy in general is here inducted into the final and greatest product of generations immemorial of Indo-Aryan philosophic thought, achieved under conditions as favourable for success in this direction as the past wonderful century has been for the development of material science.

Of special importance is the exposition of the Buddhist theory of Paccaya-satti, the causal linkage whereby memory is carried on. The Buddhist, like the western follower of Hume, sees in the man who hears the last word of a sentence a being in a sense or to an extent different from him who heard the first; but the defect in this connection of the Humean system, which, logically pushed to its conclusion, would land us in the absurdity that memory of the whole sentence is impossible, is cured by the profound and elaborate laws of relationship treated of in the Paṭṭhāna, concisely summed up in our Essay in the explanation how each mental state, in act of expiring, passes on the whole energy which constituted it to its successor; just as, on the larger field of conscious life, the whole great complex of mental functionings we call a man passes its specialised energy at death over to the new being,—"*Neither he, nor yet other than he,*"—whom in fact that very energy itself creates, and is.

Of special interest, also, is the width and as it were elasticity of the system of mental functioning here set forth. The Abhidhamma books, for instance, do not usually speak of what we now term "reasoning processes." But, as the

Author well points out, we may perfectly well, under the Buddhist system, classify that manner of mental functioning as *Takka-vīthi*, and so on with any other mode of classifying or regarding thought-processes that we may choose to select. Whatever the *matter* of the processes may be their *manner* has by the *Abhidhamma* been immutably defined; hence follows the incomparably wide range of the Buddhist psychology; which could find a place, and further yet an explanation of the mode of functioning, for even mental processes so far unknown.

Most valuable, also, is the exposition of the Mental Paths involved in states of consciousness other than the normal, whether the dim phantasy of dreams, or the intensely active and vivid higher mental states known to the practical Buddhist as the *Jhānas*,—a term for which we have no true equivalent in English, since either "trance" or "ecstasy" fail altogether to convey their utter actuality. The whole Essay, in short, is teeming with facts and views the most significant and valuable; and the mere condensation in such small compass of so much knowledge, of so many side-lights on many an obscure process of the mind, by itself constitutes a literary feat of no mean order.

The Editor has, with characteristic acumen and appreciation of their high value, considerably augmented the usefulness of the work before us by the inclusion, in an Appendix of some 60 pp., of a number of notes written by the Author in the course of the correspondence which the work involved. Here, once more, we have Buddhist psychology as the born and instructed Buddhist student sees it; and many an occidental Buddhist student will find in these important notes much matter for deep study as well as great enlightenment. Where so much is of deepest interest, it is difficult to discriminate; but we may perhaps indicate the very able exposition by our Author of that profoundest crux of Buddhist philosophy, the *Paticca-samuppāda*, the Cycle of Causation, as by far the most lucid treatment we have yet encountered of a problem which has attracted so many western minds. Here, in a long note elucidated by aid of a diagram of the Buddhist "Wheel of Life" we find an exposition, at once clear and profound, of this problem:—a problem, be it remembered, which must ever hold a foremost place in Buddhist metaphysics, seeing that it was just the insight into the nature and existence of this Causal Cycle that immediately preceded the attainment of the Supreme Enlightenment. That the whole marvellous Buddhist system of philosophy and ethics is rigidly founded on Causation has long been known to every student, but here we learn, for the first time

with such simplicity and clarity, the *manner* of the Causal Linkage: we have set forth, in terms that every mind can grasp, the formula which covers the process of *all* Becoming, whether it be that of a universe, the passing-over of the doing of a single being, or even the genesis, evolution and involution of a single thought.

To sum up, we may fairly say that in this remarkable work Maung Shwe Zan Aung and his able Editor have laid the world of thought under an obligation of gratitude that no mere expressions of commendation can adequately repay. Alike his great religion, his native land, and the Rangoon College, the Alma Mater at whose hands he gained his initiation into that western learning which alone has enabled him thus to bridge the gulf between the Buddhist philosophy and the modern thought, may well be proud of this first child of theirs capable of rendering to mankind so great a service. "*Truth, verily, is Immortal Speech*" the Master told us; and greatest of all services is his who makes Truth known. The value of this epoch-making work lies in its able presentation of one great aspect,—and that the profoundest,—of the Truth the Buddha found and taught; and its influence will without a doubt extend far beyond the now narrow, if widening confines of the body of occidental students of Buddhism; will extend in course of time to the whole body of western philosophic thought. For the present, the work is one which no would-be Buddhist student can afford to be without, affording as it does an insight at once profound and clear into the deeper workings of that Mind which, as the old Buddhist stanza tells us, is "*Maker and Origin of all that is.*"\*

ÂNANDA M.

\* R. G.

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### SAYINGS OF BUDDHA.

This is the "Iti-vuttaka, a Pāli work of the Buddhist Canon for the first time translated with an Introduction and notes, by Justin H. Moore, (New York, Columbia University Press, \$1.50").

The Indo-Iranian series, published by the Columbia University is becoming, and very deservedly, better known and appreciated year by year among Orientalists and specialists as well as beyond their circle. The volume under review is the fifth of the series. It is the translation into English of a Buddhist Canonical book, the "Iti-vuttaka," edited in

the original more than two decades ago by the well-known Orientalist, Prof. Windish. The translation is preceded by a lengthy and able introduction, wherein Dr. Moore presents a series of good arguments to show that the prose portions (the whole work consists of 112 sections of mixed prose and verse), are simply to introduce and explain the stanzas that follow; that "the prose portions were probably not spoken by the Buddha" and are "but a commentary on the Teacher's sayings in verse"; that as a consequence, the verses are older than the prose and that "there is nothing to disprove the authenticity of the stanzas in the Iti-vuttaka as Buddha's own sayings." It is in some cases really not easy to decide whether the stanzas are older, or the prose; nay, in some cases even a short portion of prose has been thought to be a stanza by editors of Indian texts, or a stanza to be prose. But in the case of the Iti-vuttaka, it is clear, and Dr. Moore has conclusively shewn that the verses are older. As to the stanzas themselves being Buddha's own sayings, I beg leave to depart, as will most scholars, from Dr. Moore's dictum; the very position the work occupies in the Canonical Divisions 'pañca nikāya' (the Iti-vuttaka is found in the Khuddaka) ought to have put him on his guard, or at least, to have made him a little more cautious, in his assertion. Certainly, the fact that the book is found among the fifteen works which make up the Khuddaka Nikāya is no absolute proof that the stanzas were not spoken by the Master, but our knowledge of the character of this Nikāya (collection), as well as the character of the stanzas themselves, go far to make one doubt it. The probability rather points to the fact that those stanzas were composed for mnemonic purposes embodying some of the best known teachings of the Buddha, and were composed probably after his decease, the prose portions being composed still much later to elucidate and exemplify them.

The Itivuttaka is not quite an easy book to translate; not only it is profusely studded with technical terms, on the exact meaning of which scholars do not always agree, but not a few passages are obscure and their meaning very doubtful. Dr. Moore has adopted a quite independent rendering of the technical terms, and his renderings are quite felicitous in many instances; and he has done his very best to elucidate the obscure passages referred to above; but he would perhaps have experienced less difficulty, had he referred to similar passages in the Sutta-Piṭaka and looked up the commentaries thereon; not a few of these parallel passages are pointed out in Windish's footnotes to his edition of the Pāli text.



It must be remembered the book under review is the very first translation into any of the Western languages of the Itivuttaka, and that a pioneer experiences difficulties which his successors mostly do not perceive; considering this is a first attempt, the translation has been singularly well done; at the same time, however, it evidences the fact that Dr. Moore's reading has not yet been quite wide enough, and that, in consequence, his scholarship somewhat savours of immaturity. There are a number of obvious misreadings and errors. For instance — In note 1 on p. 31, *aññathattam* is made the equivalent of the Sanskrit *anyathā-ātman*, but it is really: *anyathā-tva*; the final *ṭta* does not represent *atta* (*ātman*), but the suffix *ttam* = *Skt. tva*. On p. 32 § 20, *yathābhatam* is translated "just as is handed down by tradition," but the meaning is: according to his deserts, *lit.*, "According to what has been produced" (referring to karma) and the word is: *yathā-ābhatam* and not *yathā bhatam*. "Go to prosperity," p. 34 § 21, as a rendering of *sugatim gacchanti*, is not a happy expression; p. 39 § 26, the word *kālena* appears to be mistranslated; on the same page note 4 errs entirely, for *opādhika* does not mean "connected with the substrata" in this passage; it is the *Skt. upādhika* (*upa adhika*) and therefore means: great, very great, and with this meaning this word is often found in Pāli texts. Note 3 on page 41, on the word *sammāpāsa* is very interesting, but Dr. Moore, as well as Prof. Jackson, seem to be rather puzzled as to what a kind of sacrifice it refers to; the derivation of the word is given and its meaning explained at length on pp. 541-42 of the commentary (singhlese edition) of the Aṅguttara. On p. 45 is, what I should call a fault of inattention: *dve me*, is sandhi for *dve ime*, the 'me' is not a dative as taken by Dr. Moore; it follows the whole sentence in which it occurs is mistranslated; on the same page he has likewise misunderstood a whole line: *so akatam me kalyānam*, etc.; this is simply a direct quotation, and is not spoken by the Buddha in reference to himself; the whole of this paragraph (§ 30) though presenting no difficulty has been misapprehended. *Sakkāra*, p. 48 § 35 and note 1, has also been misunderstood, though very frequent in the first part of the compound in which it occurs; it is rightly the *Skt. satkāra* and not *svakāra* as Dr. Moore translates it; its very inclusion between the words *lābha* and *siloka* refutes the translator's etymology. P. 52 § 38, in the 3rd stanza, the translator says "sees many rocks and mankind," but no rocks are mentioned in the text; the word *sela* is an adjective referring to *pabbata*; in the same verse, he takes *sumedha* as

a proper name, but it is simply an epithet and has no reference to the Bodhi-satta; and the preceding word "*dharmamāya*" is rendered by "well-known," which is undefendable; a reference to a parallel verse in the Dhammapada would have proved helpful. On p. 64 § 50, *akusalam* is rendered by "impropriety; but *akusala* has quite a different connotation from that of the English 'impropriety.' *Savāhanam* on p. 74 § 62, would have been better translated by "with his army." *Kāyena*, p. 82 § 74, does not mean "with his body," as the context itself shews, but: with all his mentally, with his mental faculties; this expression, which is common in texts, is explained in the commentaries, by *nāmakāya*, and *nāma* by the mental 'khandhas'. On p. 83, the author has misunderstood a very common expression, *adinnādāna*, "taking that which is not given," stealing; this is translated "who do not abstain from giving gifts"! This mistranslation has arisen from a faulty division of the compound into *adinna-adāna*, instead of *adinna-ādāna*, and therefore note 3 on the existence here of a supposed double negative, becomes useless. Several times, the translator has mistaken *māno*, the termination of the present participle medium voice, for the noun *māno*, "pride"; for instance, on page 86, where *āmodamāno*, "rejoicing", (*ā* ✓ *mud*) is broken up into *āmoda* joy and *māna*, pride, so that the point of the verse is missed and note 3 has no sense. Let us notice a very curious slip of the pen in note 4 p. 92, we are told there "the Vinaya Piṭaka, edited by Windish"; the Vinaya was edited by H. Oldenberg. On p. 99 note 1 we find the statement that the phrase "unclose the door of immortality" (*apāvuṇanti amatassa dvāram*) is "in absolute contradiction with the usual Buddhist doctrine"; *amata* here is an epithet of Nirvāṇa, which is called *a-mataṃ*, "deathlessness" because it is the absence of rebirth, which precludes the possibility of death (cf. Commentary on the Dhammapada, Vol. I, 228, J. P. T. Society's edition.)

Note 3 on p. 106 is also curious; the *cattāri purisayugāni* "four pairs of persons", simply refer to the disciples, whatever their number, who *walk* in the Four Paths; as each Path is divided into two, a lower and a higher one, those four pairs naturally make up the *eight* categories of persons (*aṭṭha purisapuggalā*) who are on the way to Nirvāṇa, and the author has altogether missed the point when he tells us that "one is tempted to take this small number of members in the congregation, or order, as an indication of the beginnings of the Buddhist monasteries, and as perhaps implying an early date of compilation of this work." *Upapatti*, we

are told in note 1 p. 112, has no Sanskrit cognate, but on the contrary the word is a very common one.

On pp. 13 and 14, for *parisuttamo*, read, *puris*<sup>o</sup>; *budha*, read *buddha*; *tasa-sara*, read *tacasāra*; p. 23, *khoda*, read *kodha*; p. 65 *tvacsāra*, read *tvaksāra*; p. 126, *mananalam*, read *māna*<sup>o</sup>.

Errors of the kind mentioned above might make a somewhat longer list; but even with these few defects, the translation of the *Itivuttaka* is a really good performance, and reflects great credit on the rising scholar. It will be a great boon to all those who cannot study Buddhism in the Pāli, and a great help to those who are beginners in the language, the more so that the verses are merely rendered into poetical prose arranged in short lines, to make clear at once the verse-passages from the prose ones; the English is easy, flowing and lucid. Particularly useful are the two appendixes at the end of the book. All earnest students of Buddhism will be warmly thankful to Dr. Moore for his able translation of this work into English.

C. D.

## DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA. \*

### VOL. II.

This second volume of the *Dialogues*, which had been expected for sometime, will be wellcomed by all students of Buddhism. At first sight, the reader is inclined to be somewhat disappointed, for a good portion of the new volume consists of two *Suttantas* (discourses) which already appeared thirty years ago in the *Sacred Books of the East*, (1) namely, the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* and the *Mahā-sudassana Suttanta*. But the disappointment is only momentary, for the reader soon perceives that those two discourses have been carefully revised by the translator, and this revision more than makes up for the reappearance of these two pieces. Moreover, they could not have very well been omitted, for they form part of the second volume of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, of which the present work is a complete translation. It contains besides eight other *Suttantas* very important for the early history of Buddhist thought and the development of its doctrines. The *Mahāpādana Suttanta* is

\* Translated in collaboration by T. W. Rhys Davids and Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids. It forms Vol. III of the "*Sacred Books of the Buddhists*." The first volume of the *Dialogues* was published in 1899.

1. "*Buddhist Suttas*," by T. W. Rhys Davids, 1881, S. B. E. Vol. XI.

important in that it is probably the earliest document in Pāli which contains in germ the doctrine of the Bodhisatta, which has made such a fortune with the Northern Buddhism, but sounded the death, in India, of the Southern and earlier form, of the Buddhist Doctrine. The Mahānidāna, containing as it does, a full exposition of the famous doctrine of the Paticca-samuppāda, or Twelve Nidānas, that is, of the Buddhist theory of the interdependent origination of causes and effects, or Law of causation, is particularly valuable. Very much has been written in many languages on this subject, and it may be said that practically no two writers agree as to its real significance. On the whole it comes very much to the same as the theory now obtaining in the West, that nothing can be but the result of something previously existing and without whose existence it could not possibly have existed. The short introduction to this Suttanta is illuminating and will well repay perusal. One of the most important among the other Discourses, is the Mahāpaṭṭhāna, "the setting up of Mindfulness." The doctrine of ever present mindfulness is one of the principal, nay, rather, the most important doctrine of primitive Buddhism, for without mindfulness the ultimate goal of Buddhism cannot possibly be reached, this doctrine pervades in fact the whole of the Tipiṭakas and is the theme of innumerable passages in the commentaries (1). As in the first volume, the introduction to each Suttanta, is, in several cases, a gem of mature scholarship and deep insight into the Buddhist doctrine. We have nothing to say about the translation, it is as good as a translation of these difficult text can be; the language is limpid and concise, and singularly free from that high flown and formal style peculiar to some of the German translations of Pāli works. The value of the book is enhanced by the two appendixes at the end, the second being particularly valuable.

It is to be hoped that the third volume of the Dialogues, which is in preparation, will soon be in the hand of the readers.

C. D.

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1. On this point may be compared *Dhammapada-attha-kathā* (J. P. T. Society's edition) Vol. I. p. 228.

## DIE REDEN DES BUDDHA. \*

(FIRST AND SECOND PARTS).

The above is the title of the German translation of the *Anguttara Nikāya*, the fourth in order of the collections of discourses, five in number, which make up the *Sutta Piṭaka*; the translator is a young Buddhist monk, German by birth, who resided for sometime in Burma a few years ago: *Bhikkhu Nāṇatiloka*; before becoming a Buddhist monk, he had been in a Catholic Seminary; he embraced his new religion very earnestly and sincerely, and in order better to understand it, began the study of Pāli. The first fruit of his studies was "Das Wort des Buddha," a small tract, containing passages translated from the Pāli Canon and bearing all on the Four Noble Truths (1). 'Die Reden des Buddha,' 'the Discourses of the Buddha,' is more ambitious in its aim, for it is the translation (the first two parts only have yet appeared), of the whole of the *Anguttara*, a voluminous work edited by the Pāli Text Society, and extending over five large volumes. The style, as in most German translations of Oriental texts, is somewhat formal; but *Nāṇatiloka* has kept throughout a just medium, and has not gone the length of, for instance, K. Neumann, whose style, though very beautiful, is so formal, as to render the reading of some of his works fatiguing. The style of "Die Reden des Buddha" is easy and agreeable; and this is a great advantage to readers of translations of works at once monotonous and full of repetitions. The translation is reliable and excepting in a few instances, renders the meaning, and what is more important, the spirit of the original very clearly. The profuse notes, mostly translated or adapted from the commentary on the *Anguttara*, are very useful for the elucidation of the text.

We find it a pity, however, that each part or Book (the original is divided into eleven Books, distributed over five volumes in the P. T. Society's edition) has a new pagination, the 1st part has 96 pages and the second 79; it would have been better to continue on the pagination until the translation of the whole of the first volume of the text was finished, in order to allow of their being bound together in a volume corresponding to the first of the text. It would have been very good also, to save the time and temper of the student,

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\* Aus dem Pali zum ersten Male übersetzt und erläutert; W. Markgraf, Breslau, Mark. 2. 40.

1. This was translated into English by *Bhikkhu Silācāra*, under the title "The Word of Buddha," and is obtainable in Rangoon.

to indicate the beginning in the body of the pages of each new page of the text translated, by inserting its number in bold type. We hope these suggestions will be carried out in the forthcoming parts. We see no index; but probably this will be supplied at the end of each volume.

Bhikkhu Ñāṇatiloka is rendering a real service to all students of comparative religion and to those of Buddhism in particular, in translating the Aṅguttara.

C. D.

### PUGGALA PAÑÑATTI.\*

“Das Buch der Charaktere” is the translation into German, by Bhikkhu Ñāṇatiloka, of the Puggala Paññatti, a canonical work of the abhidhamma Piṭaka, which describes shortly the several characteristics good and bad that build up the character of man. This is the second book out of the seven of the Abhidhamma, which has, up to the present, been translated, the first one being in English. The book contains a good number of very useful notes, chiefly adapted from the commentary to the work translated. The translation has been very well done.

It is to be regretted that the division of the paragraphs, as found in the original (Pāli Text Society, 1883), has not been strictly adhered to, thus rendering reference to the Pāli a somewhat laborious task; we also notice the complete absence of an Index, and this is much to be regretted, for it detracts somewhat, at least for the student and scholar, from the usefulness of this useful little volume.

C. D.

\* Aus dem Buddhistischen Pāli-Kanon (Abhidhammo) zum ersten Male übersetzt; Walter Markgraf, Breslau, 3 marks.

### PĀLI BUDDHISMUS IN ÜBERSETZUNGEN.\*

A movement has been set on foot in Germany for the dissimination, broadcast, of a knowledge of the Buddhist doctrines with a view to the ultimate adoption of Buddhism by the people, or at least by those, who are beginning to be

\* Aus dem Buddhistischen Pāli-Kanon und dem Kammavacāṃ übersetzt nebst Erläuterungen; W. Markgraf, Breslau, 10 Marks.

discontented with the faith of their forefathers and whose ranks, we are told, are swelling year by year. A society was formed sometime ago, Die Deutsche Pāligesellschaft, with a monthly organ: Die Buddhistische Welt, which is already in the fourth year of its existence; it is through this periodical, as well as by means of the books they publish, that the "German Pāli Society," are confident of attaining their aim. The last publication of this society is "Pāli Buddhism in Translations," by Herr Karl Seidenstücker. It is a beautiful volume of nearly 500 pages, well printed on good paper, and at the very reasonable price of 10 marks. The regretted H. C. Warren, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, had, some years ago, given us in English, a volume with a similar title "Buddhism in Translations", which has gone already through several editions. It may perhaps be the well-deserved success of the English work, which has suggested to Herr Seidenstücker the idea of his own book. But let it not for an instant be thought, that the German is a translation from the English of Warren's. The two works have been conceived on a different plan, and are as different as the similarity of the subject can possibly allow. 'Pāli Buddhismus' is much more philosophical throughout, having passed over in silence the life of the Buddha, which reads like a wondrous tale and occupies 110 pages in Warren's book out of a total of 496; but certainly it would not have been out of place to give a short resumé of the Master's career; this would have made the book complete in itself, although it may be objected that a complete Life, also in translations from Pāli texts, is already in existence (1). The whole work is divided into three parts and twenty chapters, carefully arranged so as to give a good grasp of the subject in spite of its complexity. The translation is good and reliable, but the language of it too formal. In the body of the text are interspersed notes which will prove very valuable to the student. The author in every case indicates the text he is translating, by volume, division (and sometimes subdivision) and Sutta (or Discourse), for instance: Saṃyutta-Nikāyo V, XLV, 1, 13. This looks very imposing; but after all it is very irritating to the reader who wants to refer to the original, and makes him lose no little time, although even he be *un homme du métier*. It is now tacitly agreed among scholars to refer to the text by an abbreviation of the title, the number of the volume and page; in this manner the above reference would be: S. V. 14; short and to the

1. J. Dutoit: "Das Leben des Buddha," eine Zusammenstellung alter Berichte aus dem Kanonischen Schriften der Südlichen Buddhisten, Leipzig, 1906.

point; the explanations of these abbreviations would not have occupied one fourth of a page.

Herr Seidenstücker is to be congratulated on his really good performance. We are told the book was published as an homage to the Buddha on the 2,500th anniversary of his birth, which was celebrated in May, 1911.

C. D.

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### "THE SINGULARITY OF BUDDHISM."

A "slight attempt to explain this venerable and noble creed . . . ." is the prefatory description of Mr. J. Wettha Sinha's new work on Buddhism which contains an introduction and notes by Mr. F. L. Woodward, M. A. The reader, on closing the book after perusal, will certainly come to the conclusion that the title of this work has been singularly well chosen, for the treatment of his subject by the author is eminently singular and cannot fail to strike the reader as such. It is not a treatise on Buddhism, nor even an essay, for practically, no attempt is made to explain its doctrines; there is no reasoning out of the points brought forward and no logical sequence in their presentment; it is not a book in the sense the word is understood in the West. It is a mere jumbling together of 221 propositions, embodying the theories of the Tipiṭaka and the Singhalese commentaries without any apparent order, but with the avowed and laudable purpose to bring into relief the singularity of Buddhism among all the other religions of the world, and of bringing forward its claims to this unique distinction. Another characteristic which strikes the reader is that the work appears to have been composed in a *furor scribendi* which carries the author hurry-scurry through his string of propositions as if the safety of Buddhism depended solely on their being written and read as quickly as possible. For instance, the following lines take us in seven-league boots to the beginning of the 221 theories: "Coming to post-Vedic literature, we find that the second portion of the Veda known as Brahmana contains ritualistic precepts and illustrations; and the third division of the Veda is called Upanishad, or the mystical doctrine, and in the Isa and Chandogya Upanishads the pantheistic doctrine of Brahmanism is given. In short, Hinduism is ritualistic and sacrificial, and it is monotheistic, tri-theistic, polytheistic, animistic and eternalistic; and nomistic and philosophical Brahmanism is pantheistic, animistic and eternalistic. Hence,



any attempt to reconcile Hinduism with non-ritualistic, atheistic, positivist, semi-materialist and stoical Buddhism is as futile as trying to extract sunbeams from cucumbers." The cucumbers are delightful and refreshing after this hasty run through all those "*istic*" epithets.

Let us say, however, that the only things blamable in the work of Mr. Wettha Sinha are this very haste and his unaccountable lack of method. No one, after reading the book, will doubt that he is a good scholar and well read in Pāli; and the impression of his scholarship is borne out when he tells us he is a pupil of the venerable and world-renowned Sri Sumangala; but the methods of his venerable master are more critical than those of his pupil. Mr. Sinha will, if he re-writes his book composedly and according to critical canons, produce a work which will be not a little appreciated. Mr. F. L. Woodward, no doubt, perceived the infantine method of exposition and the crude, though learned, dogmatism of Mr. Sinha, and his preface is an attempt to assuage the effect the book must necessarily produce. He is much less happy in his notes at the end of the book; they savour too much of American Neo-Buddhism, although they will no doubt appeal very much to readers who like the display of spiritualism and theosophical terms, such as the "pranic stream," the "similarly-vibrating skandhas," the "phantom-self-reflection of reflection," the "aura," and who may like to know that "dark-red issues from the base of the brain; yellow from the upper brain; green from the phrenological organ of benevolence."

"R. G."

C. D.

### 'NOTES FOR PALI STUDENTS.'

There have been published at Mandalay by Mr. J. Vas a series of notes and translations for the use of Pāli students. The series comprises (a) a translation with copious notes to the Jātaka stories as prescribed for the Calcutta Matriculation; (b) a translation of the first four chapters of Dipavaṃsa; (c) a translation with notes of the Maṅgala Sutta.

The author of these little books is to be praised for the pains he has taken in making them as useful to Pāli students as possible. But, it is regrettable that his efforts have been mainly misdirected. We are afraid that these books, instead of being helps to students, will rather prove to them to be barriers. For, with all his good intentions, the author has betrayed, in more than one place a strange ignorance of the

simplest rules of grammar and syntax, to say nothing of glaring errors and self-contradictions in derivation, in the meaning of words and in construing the context. To cite examples of these would take us pages to write. Nor would it be a pleasant task to perform. These remarks apply mostly to the Jātaka stories.

With regard to the translation of the *Dīpavaṇṇasā*, there is little to be said, except that it is a reproduction of Oldenberg's translation with a few obvious changes in the construction of the sentences. Sometimes Mr. Vas ventures on his own authority only, alas, to fall into a hopeless muddle.

With regard to the *Maṅgala Sutta*, the very title has been mis-translated as the 'source of happiness'—a meaning which can in no wise be defended. Again, Mr. Vas prints the refrain of the poem as 'Mangalam uttamam'—which is a serious breach of the rules of metre, according to which it should be 'Mangalam uttamaṇṇ'. It is to be regretted that such serious mistakes should be made in a poem, which every boy in the monastery knows by heart.

M. T.

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### A SHORT HISTORY OF BURMA. \*

The study of the history of Burma has been for sometime prescribed in some standards of the schools in Burma. The great difficulty in the way of this study was, that there was no text book on the subject adapted to young students; Phayre's could not be placed in their hands, for it was not written for school boys. This need has been supplied by Mr. S. W. Cocks, Inspector of Schools, Burma, by his timely publication of the book named above. It aims at nothing higher than being a school book, but even the reader who has long passed that stage, will find the little volume agreeable reading, and very useful as an introduction to a more serious study. The work has been well thought out, and the matter clearly, though naturally concisely, presented. We recommend Mr. Cocks's book to all who desire to obtain easily a good purview of the complicated history of Burma.

C. D.

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\* Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1910.

## RESEARCHES ON PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY OF EASTERN ASIA. \*

This work of Colonel G. E. Gerini, M. R. A. S., which had been expected for sometime past, is now before us. It is a ponderous volume of nearly 1,000 pages. On perusing the work, the reader is struck by the vast amount of information gathered within its covers, and the very extensive reading of the author, as well as his evident painstaking care. The Geography of Ptolemy is itself a rather tiny book, so that Colonel Gerini's work is an immense commentary on that of the old author, and contains a vast deal more than the latter could ever have known. Unfortunately, it is impossible to agree with a large number of the Colonel's identifications and derivations, which in many cases are quite novel, subversive of those already generally accepted, and bordering sometimes on the phantastic. Not a few of his theories are rambling or wild, evidencing the fact that his enormous amount of reading has not been well digested, or that, perhaps he is rather anxious to strike out new paths for himself, without enough taking into consideration the conclusions of the Orientalists who have preceded him in the field. We cannot agree, for instance, with his derivation of the word 'Burma,' which has now been, we may say, practically settled; his theory is altogether hypothetical and rests on no solid basis; it is highly imaginative. No solution is offered to the mystery which up to now surrounds the etymology of the word 'Pagan' (Pukan). The book will have to be read with caution, and we would put the uninitiated reader on his guard against some of Col. Gerini's conclusions, just because they are given in a doctrinal and decisive tone which might well mislead the reader.

Notwithstanding these defects, the book contains a considerable mass of really useful information, the usefulness of the volume is much increased by an index very carefully compiled.

C. D.

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\* "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia (Further India and Indo-Malay Peninsula," published in conjunction with the Royal Geographical society, London, 1, Savill Row, W.

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## BUDDHISM IN INDO-CHINA.

We have received a reprint from the *Buddhist Review*, entitled "Buddhism in Indo-China" by M. Louis Finot.

It is a sketch of the introduction of Buddhism in the Trans-Gangetic countries which sets forth with clearness though succinctly the history of the momentous movement which, with a new religion, brought also to the peoples literature, civilization and refinement. The author is chiefly concerned with the Fu-nan, Cambodia, Siam, and mentions only in passing, Burma. In this short sketch one recognizes easily the master-hand of the famous Orientalist. It would be most interesting to have a complete treatise, as complete as recent researches can make it possible, on the subject, and none is better fitted than M. L. Finot for this task.

C. D.

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### LE DOMAINE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DU SIAM.\*

It is with no small pleasure and interest we have read the copy sent us of the "Domaine Archéologique du Siam" by M. le Commandant L. de Lajonquière. The little volume (76 pages) is written with the usual mastery of his subject and the care evidenced in all the previous works of the author. The ancient history of Indo-China as a whole is still very obscure and much will have yet to be done to elucidate it; the *Domaine Archéologique* is a very important contribution towards that end. Tenasserim is just touched upon in a short paragraph, but we find many mentions of it in the body of the work; we are given, on p. 53, a facsimile of an inscription, in characters not yet identified, found at Mergui; and we are told of the important discovery, in the island of Kisseraing, at the mouth of the Tenasserim river, of an old city now in ruins. The geographical identifications found near the end of the book will be found very useful. The work is profusely illustrated and accompanied by eight plates and an archæological map of Siam in which is found part of Tenasserim. The indefatigable soldier and archæologist, who has already rendered so many services to science for the elucidation of the history of Indo-China, is sincerely to be thanked for this scholarly work.

C. D.

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\* Extract from the "Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indo-Chine."

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## PUBLICATIONS OFFERED TO THE SOCIETY.

"Two coins of Mesopotamia and Persia", by J. G. Covernton (Reprinted from the "Numismatic Chronicle", Fourth Series, Vol. III, 1903).

"Some Silver Buwayhid coins", by J. G. Covernton (Reprinted from the "Numismatic Chronicle", Fourth Series Vol. IX, 1909).

"A Short History of Burma," by S. W. Cocks; Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London 1910.

"Quelques notions sur la phonétique du Talain et son évolution historique", par M. C. O. Blagden (Extrait du Journal Asiatique (Mai-Juin, 1910).

## PERIODICALS.

**Journal Asiatique**, January—February 1911, contains: Les Hyksôs et la restauration nationale dans la tradition égyptienne et dans l'histoire (M. R. Weill), suite et fin.—Les débuts de l'art Bouddhique (M. A. Foucher).—De l'alphabet sogdien (M. Robert Gauthiot).—Le calendrier malgache (M. E.—F. Gantier).—Vyuthena 256 (M. Sylvain Levi).—Mélanges: La divination par l'écaille de tortue dans la haute antiquité chinoise (M. E. Chavannes).—Note préliminaire sur les documents en tokharien de la Mission Pelliot (M. S. Levy).

**Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland**, January 1911, contains: Notes on the Classification of Bashgali, by Sten Konow.—The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van (Part VIII.), by the Rev. Professor A. H. Sayce.—The Bābar-Nāma: a Passage Judged Spurious in the Haydarūbād Manuscript, by Annette S. Beveridge.—L'Inscription Funéraire de Tsouan Pao-Tseu: Réponse à M. Farjinet, par Edouard Chavannes.—Aryabhata's System of Expressing Numbers, by J. F. Fleet.—Archæological Exploration in India, 1909-1910, by J. H. Marshall, C. I. E.—Another Unknown Language from Eastern Turkestan, by A. Cowley.—Miscellaneous Communications.—Notices of Books.—Notes of the Quarter.—Obituary Notices.

**Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society**, 1910,\* contains: The Age of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI. (1412—1467 A. D.), by E. W. Perera.—Archæological Survey.—Fourth Supplementary Paper on the Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon, by F. H. de Vos.—Tantri-Malai: some archæological observations and deductions, by J. Still.—Kandyan Provinces, by the Hon. Mr. P. Arunāchalam.

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\* Issued for the whole year.

**T'oung Pao:** *Essay de dictionnaire Lo-lo Français, dialecte A-hi* (Alf. Liétard).—*La politique colonial de la France au début du second empire (Indo-Chine 1852-1858) suite*, (H. Cordier).—*Le royaume de Champa, suite* (Geo. Maspero).—*Bulletin Critique*.

**Revue du Monde Musulman**, Vol. XII., No. 12, contains: *Ouverture de Cours*.—*Trois Maîtres des Etudes Musulmanes*, by L. B.—*De Jamal Oud Din an Zahawi*, by L. Massignon.—*Le Cheikh El Hadj Mohammed Ben Bon Ziyân*, by A. Cour.—*Notes et Documents*.

**Vienna Oriental Journal**, Vol. XXIV., Nos. 2, 3 : *Zum Lautwert der awestischen Vokalzeichen*, by ch. Bartholomae.—*Die Rechtsbücher der syrischen Patriarchen und ihre Quellen*, by V. Aptowitzer.—*Die Gāthās des Vinayapitaka und ihre Parallelen*, by R. O. Franke.—*Das arabische Suffix 2. p. Sg. fem.*, by J. Barth.—*Zu den Verben mit i im Masai*, by H. Schuchardt.—*Reviews, etc.*

**Indian Antiquary**, March 19th, contains: *The Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, 1618—1707*, by W. Irvine.—*The "Outliers" of Rajasthani*, by Vincent A. Smith.—*Discovery of the Plays of Bhasa, a predecessor of Kalidasa*, by V. A. Smith.—*A Note on the word "Balgachchu"*, by T. A. Gopinatha Rao.—*Songs from Northern India relating to the English*, by W. Crooke.—*Book notice*.

**The Buddhist Review**, January March, 1911, contains: *Notice of the late King of Siam*.—*Christian and Buddhist Reasons for Virtue*.—*The Buddhism of the Buddha and Modernist Buddhism*, by Madame Alex. David.—*The Religion of the Ceasing of Sorrow*, by Bhikkhu Silācāra.—*Physical and Biological Aspects of An-attā*, by Edward Greenly.—*The whole duty of a Buddhist Layman, a Sermon by the Buddha*, translated by R. C. Childers.—*Preaching the good Law, from the Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, by F. J. Payne.

**Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient**,\* April June, 1910 : *Monographie de la Semi Voyelle Labiale en Annamite et en Sino-Annamite, fin*, M. L. Cadière.—*Les Rites du Dong Thô*, by M. J. Przyluski.—*La Justice dans l'Ancien Annam, suite*, M. R. Deloustal.—The "Notes et Mélanges" are, as usual, very interesting; the "Bibliographie," remains unsurpassed for fine and piquant criticism.

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\* An admirable publication, which, owing to the scholarly and systematic work of the members of the "École," has done more, during the past 10 years, for the elucidation of the problems relating to Indo-China, than almost all other similar publications together.

## OBITUARY.

THE LATE MR. TODD-NAYLOR, I. C. S.

On the 6th August 1910, Burma lost an able, talented, and sympathetic officer by the premature and unexpected death of the Hon'ble Mr. Henry Paul Todd-Naylor, C. I. E., C. S. I., M. A. (Oxon), I. C. S., Commissioner of Mandalay Division and Member of the Lieutenant-Governor's Legislative Council. He was educated at Shrewsbury and University College, Oxford, and was appointed to the Indian Civil Service after the examination of 1880. He arrived in India on the 14th December 1882, and served in Bengal as an Assistant Magistrate and Collector. The incorporation of Upper Burma into the British Empire necessitated the transfer of a number of officers from India, and Mr. Todd-Naylor was transferred to Burma as Assistant Commissioner in March 1886. He served at Thayetmyo, Tharrawaddy, and Paungdè; and his propensities for hunting dacoits were not brought into requisition till he was transferred, in June 1887, to Pyuntaza, which then formed a Subdivision of the Shwegyin district. Pyuntaza was an Alsatia, a sanctuary for debtors and criminals. It was the meeting-point of the three districts of Toungoo, Shwegyin, and Pegu, and its contiguity to the Pegu Yoma rendered it a safe asylum to those who had violated the law. The Subdivision was at once reduced to peace and order, and the outlaws were either driven out or were accounted for within the short space of five months. Mr. Todd-Naylor's services were so highly appreciated by Sir Charles Crosthwaite, Chief Commissioner of Burma, that, in November of the same year, he was appointed to be Deputy Commissioner of Shwegyin in succession to Mr. K. G. Burne. The district was disturbed by the Mayangyaung Pôngyi, who had raised the standard of rebellion on behalf of the Burmese *régime*. Mr. Todd-Naylor was allowed a free hand, and his work of pacification was thoroughly effective. Here it was that the Burmans, who much admired and respected him, conferred on him the sobriquet of "Kya-Ayebaing" "Tiger Deputy Commissioner," because of the suddenness and wariness of his attacks on gangs of dacoits, rebels, and outlaws. His *modus operandi* was marvellously simple: he carried no kit, commissariat stores, or any other *impedimenta*, and was ubiquitous and overwhelming in his movements. He would walk across paddy fields, wade through swamps, climb up hills, swim across rivers and streams, and live on the simplest food of the villagers, which often consisted of cold rice

and *ngapi*. The rebels and dacoits, who had received moral support from the emissaries of the late Burmese Government and who sprang up, like mush-rooms, all over the country, were cowed by the superhuman energy, and, above all, by the omnipresence of the wondrous prodigy, and they either surrendered themselves to the British authorities, or withdrew their support from their disloyal leaders. In April 1888, Mr. Todd-Naylor was transferred to Tharrawaddy, which was in a disturbed condition. The district, which was always notorious for its criminality, was seething with sedition and rebellion, and the rebels went to the length of cutting down the telegraph wires and tearing off the rails of the Prome-Rangoon Railway. Here also, Mr. Todd-Naylor played the rôle of "Pacificator," and his efforts were crowned with success. In September of the following year, Magwe, a district in Upper Burma, showed signs of unrest, and Mr. Todd-Naylor was forthwith transferred to it as being the best officer to deal with it. The expectations entertained at headquarters of his ability, endurance, energy, and resource in pacifying a disturbed locality were more than justified, and, in recognition of his eminent services, he was in January 1890, created a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire, and was confirmed in his appointment as Deputy Commissioner in the following May. It was while serving in this district, that he was wounded for the first and only time. He had never been wounded before in all these fights and hand-to-hand struggles, and his Burmese friends and subordinates thought that he led a charmed life, like Sir George Scott, K. C. I. E., Superintendent of the Southern Shan States, who recently retired, or like the Chinese Gordon, who stemmed the tide of the Taiping Rebellion in 1860-64. Indeed, it is said that, while fighting gangs of evil doers, he always wore next to his skin a mysterious waistcoat covered with cabalistic squares, and that he ordered his Indian and Burmese officers to keep to the rear and behind himself. In 1892, he rested from his labours. He took furlough, graduated M.A. at Oxford, and rowed in his College boat. It will be rather a long story to follow his interesting and varied career as Deputy Commissioner from district to district, and as Commissioner from Division to Division. An exciting period of suppressing the elements of disorder was followed by a period of reconstruction, which was no less important from an administrative point of view. It will, perhaps, be sufficient, if it is stated that he was confirmed as a Commissioner in 1903, and that six years later, he was created a C. S. I., and was appointed to act as Financial Commissioner and to



be Vice-President of the Lieutenant-Governor's Legislative Council.

Mr. Todd-Naylor was scarcely 50 years old at the time of his death. He always enjoyed robust health, and, though he had aged considerably, as compared with his contemporaries, he could never be persuaded to believe that the infirmities of age were creeping over him. He led too strenuous a life, and his habits were too Spartan. His extraordinary fondness for polo, and his midnight rides for 80 or 100 miles at a stretch, with relays of ponies at different stages of the journey, must have produced a strain and sapped his powers of vitality insidiously. He was keen, alert, and enthusiastic in all that he undertook to do; and his activity, both physical and mental, was incessant. The idea of taking sufficient rest never struck him; and the expenditure of his energy was, therefore, never commensurate with his powers of recuperation, and he fell a martyr to his high sense of duty. Very few European officials could ever succeed, like him, in acquiring a great amount of respect and confidence of the Burmans. He had a magnetic personality, and like Lord Kitchener, never forgot the services rendered to him. He was a stranger to the arts of diplomacy, and called a spade by its proper name. With all his faults of impatience, irritability, and imperiousness, he was held in high esteem for his kindness, firmness and justice, for his loyalty to his friends, for his sincerity and straightforwardness, and for his "playing the game" in all matters. His genuine fondness for the Burmans and his ready sympathy with them in their troubles were highly appreciated. His subordinates of all races have lost in him a kind benefactor, who can never be replaced by any other in their respect, affection and admiration. Sir Harvey Adamson but voices the public opinion of the whole Province when in the *Burma Gazette* of the 13th August 1910, he mourns the loss of his personal friend and trusted adviser in the following terms: "The Lieutenant-Governor has heard with the deepest regret of the death of the Hon'ble Mr. Henry Paul Todd-Naylor, C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S., Commissioner of the Mandalay Division. Mr. Todd-Naylor's service in Burma during more than twenty-four years was conspicuous by his eminent qualities of energy, self-reliance, and sound judgment. He was a born leader of men, a skilled administrator and a trusted adviser of the Government. The Burma Commission deplores the loss of one of the ablest of its members, a feeling which will be shared by all classes of the community."

TAW SEIN KO.

Another correspondent writes :—

Like many another very strong man, Todd-Naylor played tricks with his splendid constitution ; and like many another he has paid the penalty ; for I cannot but think that, had he taken proper care of himself, he would have been alive and well at this moment. It is probable that severe physical exercise, combined with hard mental work, insufficient rest, and frequent intervals of starvation sapped his strength. I have but one consolation for his untimely death. It is my firm belief, that, had he not died thus suddenly, he would sooner or later have had a bad break-down, unless he amended his ways of life,—which seemed unlikely ; and I think that any of his friends would sooner see him in his grave, than a permanent invalid in a bath chair. Thus I try to think that in spite of appearances, he was *felix opportunitate mortis*.

There are various ways of judging a man. You may judge him by his virtues, his position, his achievements or his failures. The most common way,—that enjoined in the phrase *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*,—is to judge him by his virtues alone; and this it is that gives us the common-place obituary notice and fulsome epitaph, which he above all men would have despised. Another way is to judge of a man by his faults. Now Todd-Naylor's faults were all those of a noble nature. They were the outcome of his intense energy both mental and physical, of his courage, his candour, his humour, his ambition. It was once said of a famous statesman, that he was not a man, but a moral institution ; but for all his high-mindedness, no one could ever have said that of Todd-Naylor : he was so very human. Yet however much people might be annoyed with him for a time, I do not believe there was ever anyone, who did not like him the better for his very failings : and there are very few men in this world of whom one can say that.

#### IN MEMORIAM.

H. P. T.-N.

Low in the dust is laid his mighty frame,  
To realms unknown the mighty spirit passed ;  
Nobly he fought, nobly he worked and played  
Unto the last.

#### IN MEMORIAM.

"Atque in æternum, frater, ave, atque vale."

Farewell to you, who rest from life  
While yet unwearied of the strife ;  
To you, whose eager spirit's might

Well matched the body's strength and height ;  
 Whose Tiger-speed of mind and hand  
 Were famed and feared throughout the land ;  
 To you, who spared at Duty's call  
 Nor others nor yourself at all ;  
 Whose wrath ne'er left a grudge behind,  
 Whose heart,—tho' speech were rough,—was kind ;  
 Whose words were straight, whose deeds were true,  
 Farewell ! a long farewell to you !

H. L.

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### GÉNÉRAL DE BEYLIÉ.\*

By the death of Général de Beylié, drowned in a sad accident on the 15th July, 1910, in the Mékong rapids, not only France has lost a brilliant and much appreciated officer, but also archæology in the Near-and the Far-East has lost an able and indefatigable worker.

Léon-Marie-Eugène de Beylié was born in Strasburg in November, 1849, and was brought up at Grenoble; he enriched the latter city, to which he was much attached, with the numerous collections he presented to its Museum. He entered the military school of Saint-Cyr when began the hostilities between France and Germany; he took part in the campaign as a Sub-Lieutenant, and came back with a wound and the cross of the Légion d'honneur. He then entered the "École de guerre" which he left with the grade of Captain. In 1890, he was in command of a column, fighting against the pirates who were then infesting the Red River; there he received a wound which gave him ever after a slight limp. In 1895, we find him in Madagascar, on the staff of Général Duchesne; he became Brigadier-General in 1902, and was sent to Saigon in command of the troupes in Cochinchina.

But his military duties did not absorb him altogether; he was of an enquiring turn of mind and had an insatiable curiosity, which led him to devote all his leisure to art and archæology, on which studies and researches he spent generously large sums of money from a quite disinterested motive.

He visited Burma twice, the results being three books very much appreciated. All who have had occasion to associate with him during these short visits will remember his sprightly and brilliant conversation, and the affability and spont-

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\* For some of the details given below, I am indebted to the *Journal Asiatique*, 1910.

aneous kindness which attracted the sympathy and commanded the respect of all. Général de Beylié had planned a third visit to Burma in the early part of this year, during which it was his intention to make researches in Tenasserim.

The following are his principal works:

L'architecture hindoue en Extrême-Orient, 1907.

Prome et Samara, voyage archéologique en Birmanie et en Mesopotamie, 1907.

L'architecture des Abbasides au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle, voyage archéologique à Samara dans le bassin du Tigre, 1907.

Fouilles à Prome, 1907.

Le Musée de Grenoble, 1909.

La Kalaa des Beni—Hammad, une capitale berbère de l'Afrique du Nord au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1909.

Les ruines d'Angkor, 1900.

C. D.

## MINUTES.

*Minutes of the Proceedings of the Preliminary Meeting of the Provisional Committee of the Burma Research Society held in the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon, on Saturday, the 19th February 1910.*

### PRESENT.

The Hon. Mr. G. F. Arnold, Esq. (Chairman).  
The Hon'ble Mr. H. L. Eales.  
J. G. Rutledge, Esq.  
Dr. G. R. T. Ross.  
Maung May Oung.  
Maung Tun Nyein (Hon. Treasurer).  
C. Duroiselle, Esq. (Hon. Secretary).

1. Considered the different names suggested for the Society by members.

*Resolved*—That the Society be called "The Burma Research Society".

2. Considered the draft Rules of the Society.

*Resolved*—That the Rules be confirmed as amended at this meeting.

3. Considered a list of names of fifteen gentlemen to be co-opted members of the Committee.

*Resolved*—That the ten following gentlemen be elected members of the Committee :

M. Hunter, Esq., M.A.  
Dr. G. R. T. Ross, M.A., Ph.D.  
A. D. Keith, Esq. B.A., M.R.A.S.  
W. G. Wedderspoon, Esq., M.A.  
J. Stuart, Esq.  
Rev. D. Gilmore, M.A.  
Rev. J. F. Smith, B.A.  
Major W. G. Pridmore, I.M.S.  
Rt. Rev. Bishop Cardot.  
J. T. Best, Esq., M.A.

And that the following gentlemen be asked whether they would accept membership of the Committee :—

Maung Kin, *Bar.-at-Law*.  
Maung Ne Dun.

Pyinmana Mintha.  
U Po Sa, K.S.M.  
Capt. Ba-Ket, I.M.S.

4. Considered the advisability of holding another meeting at an early date to elect the Officers of the Society, and consider any other matter which may be brought forward.

*Resolved*—That the next meeting be held on Saturday, the 5th March, 1910, at 8 a.m.

5. Considered the date at which the Inaugural Meeting, over which His Honour the Lieut.-Governor has consented to preside, might be held.

*Resolved*—That the Inaugural Meeting be held about the 24th or 25th of March, 1910.

C. DUROISELLE,

*The 2nd March, 1910.*

*Honorary Secretary.*

*Minutes of the Proceedings of the First Meeting of the Committee of the Burma Research Society held in the Bernard Free Library on Saturday, the 5th March, 1910.*

#### PRESENT.

The Hon'ble H. L. Eales, I.C.S.—*President.*

The Hon'ble G. F. Arnold.	M. Hunter, Esqr., M.A.
J. Stuart, Esquire.	J. G. Rutledge, Esqr., M.A.
Maung May Oung, M.A.,	Maung Ne Dun, F. R. C. I.
LL. B.	Maung Shwe Zan Aung, B.A.
Dr. D. Gilmore, M.A., Ph.D.	Maung Tun Nyein,
Maung Kin, <i>Bar.-at-Law.</i>	<i>Hon. Treasurer.</i>

C. Duroiselle, Esqr., M.R.A.S.—*Hon. Secretary.*

1. The following gentlemen were elected Officers of the Society :—

Sir Herbert Thirkell White, K.C.I.E.,— <i>Patron.</i>	
The Hon'ble H. L. Eales, I.C.S.— <i>President.</i>	
Maung Ba Too, K.S.M., C.I.E.	} <i>Vice-Presidents.</i>
The Hon'ble G. F. Arnold, I.C.S.	
J. W. Darwood, Esqr.	
C. Duroiselle, Esqr.,— <i>Hon. Secretary.</i>	
Maung Tun Nyein,— <i>Hon. Treasurer.</i>	

2. The following gentlemen were elected members of the Sub-Committee as required by Rule 23:—

Maung Tun Nyein		J. Stuart, Esqr.
M. Hunter, Esqr.		Maung May Oung.

*The Honorary Secretary.*

3. Considered the election of Honorary and Corresponding members.

*Resolved*—that this question be kept in abeyance just now, and be settled at a future meeting of the Committee.

4. Considered whether any paper may be read at the Inaugural Meeting besides the Inaugural Address.

*Resolved*—That no paper be read at the Inaugural Meeting.

5. Read a letter from Mr. A. D. Keith, objecting to the name "The Burma Research Society," and proposing instead "Burma Society."

*Resolved*—that the suggestion could not be acted upon.

C. DUROISELLE,

*The 8th March, 1910.*

*Honorary Secretary.*

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*Minutes of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Burma Research Society held in the Bernard Free Library on Saturday, the 9th July, 1910.*

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esq.		Maung Tun Nyein.
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C. Duroiselle, Esq.

1. Considered the functions of the Sub-Committee and whether they could be more clearly defined.

*Resolved*—That the functions of the Sub-Committee are defined clearly enough in the Rules of the Society.

2. Considered the co-option of a new member on the Sub-Committee to replace Mr. J. Stuart, now in England.

*Resolved*—That Mr. G. Rutledge be asked to serve on the Committee.

3. Considered as to whether the Journal of the Society should be printed in Europe or in Burma.

*Resolved*—That the Journal be printed and published in Burma, at the A. B. M. Press, which besides being one of the very best printing presses in the Province, and turning out work equal to that of European presses, affords, in the matter of diacritical letters and oriental alphabets, facilities which it would be difficult for a press in Europe to procure.

4. Considered a letter from the Hon'ble Mr. Eales, in reply to a letter from the Hon. Secretary asking him to be good enough to fix a date during the month of July at which he might preside at the First General Meeting of the Society, at which papers will be read and discussion thereon invited; and in which the Hon'ble Mr. Eales answers that it would be proper to invite His Honour the Lieut.-Governor to preside at some date fixed in August.

*Resolved*—That the Hon. Secretary write to the Hon'ble Mr. Eales asking him to be kind enough to enquire of His Honour the Lieut.-Governor whether he would consent to become the Patron of the Society, and at the same time whether he could preside at the General Meeting, for which he could perhaps be kind enough to fix a date during the course of the month of August, 1910.

C. DUROISELLE,  
*Honorary Secretary.*

*Minutes of the Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Burma Research Society held in the Bernard Free Library on Monday, the 1st August, 1910.*

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Eales, I.C.S.

M. Hunter, Esq.

C. Duroiselle, Esq.

1. The Committee after discussion decided that the Meeting to be held on the 16th August begin at 5 : 30 p.m.

2. It was agreed that the arrangement for the Meeting be carried out as for the Inaugural Meeting held on the 29th March, 1910.

3. It was decided that, according to Rule 16 the General Committee be convened at 5 : 15 p.m., just before the Meeting, to ballot new members if any be presented, and to settle any other urgent matter which may be brought forward.

4. The Committee were of opinion that the Second General Meeting should be held during the month of December, 1910.

5. The Committee then discussed the order the proceedings of the Meeting should follow, and agreed upon the order as shewn in the agenda attached hereto.

C. DUROISELLE,

*The 1st August, 1910.*

*Honorary Secretary.*



*Minutes of the Proceedings of the Sub-Committee of the Burma Research Society at a Meeting held at the Rangoon College on the 28th January, 1911.*

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esqre.

J. G. Rutledge,

| Maung Tun Nyein.

Maung May Oung.

1. Considered whether the Honorary Secretary, who discharges also the duties of business and literary editor, ought not to be relieved of some of his duties.

*Resolved.*—That the Honorary Secretary cannot reasonably be expected to perform so many duties; that in order to relieve him, a Business Editor be appointed, whose duties will be to transact all business in connection with the printing of the Journal. That Mr. A. D. Keith be asked whether he would accept to be the Business Editor.

2. Considered the date on which the Ordinary Meeting of the Society should take place.

*Resolved.*—That the next Ordinary Meeting be held on Friday, the 17th February 1911, at the Rangoon College, at 5-30 p.m.

3. Considered whether, at the Ordinary Meeting on the 17th February, any paper should be read.

*Resolved.*—(1) That Rev. Gilmore be asked whether he would read his paper on the Karens, which will appear in the number of the Journal now going through the press; and (2) that Mr. Grant Brown's paper on "Human Sacrifices" be read, which will also appear in the same number.

4. Considered how often meetings of the Sub-Committee should be convened.

*Resolved.*—That meetings of the Sub-Committee be convened regularly every other month.

5. Considered how many copies of the Journal should be printed.

*Resolved.*—(1) That 500 copies be printed. (2) That the price of each copy for persons not members of the Society be fixed at Rs. 2/8/-.

C. DUROISELLE,

*The 1st February, 1911.*

*Honorary Secretary.*

*Minutes of the Proceedings of the Sub-Committee of the Burma Research Society held on the 27th March, 1911.*

PRESENT.

M. Hunter, Esquire, M. A.

J. G. Rutledge, Esqr.,  
Maung Tun Nyein.

Maung May Oung.  
C. Duroiselle, Esqr.,

1. Considered the materials, already received or promised, for the Second No. of the Journal; Rev. Antisdale has sent the Second instalment of his valuable work on the "Lahoo, Ahka and Wa Language"; Rev. Gilmore is sending in a further contribution to "Karen Folklore"; Mr. Furnivall has written a paper which we understand is now ready; Mr. Taw Sein Ko has promised us a paper on "Vestiges of Chinese Art in Burma". Mr. Grant Brown an ethnological contribution based on the "Linguistic Survey of India". Several orientalists in Europe have been asked to send us contributions, as well as some gentlemen in Burma.

The necessary material having been collected, the 2nd No. of the Journal will probably go to press in July, 1911, so that it may be published before the close of the year 1911.

2. Considered the date of the next Sub-Committee Meeting preparatory to a General Meeting.

*Resolved*—That the next Sub-Committee Meeting be held in June, 1911.

3. Considered the date at which the next General Meeting should be held.

*Resolved*—That it be held near the end of June, 1911; the exact date will be fixed at the Sub-Committee Meeting preceding it.

It was further resolved that, in future, General Meetings should not be too formal, consisting merely of the reading of papers and discussion thereon; but that they should be given a more social character by providing light refreshments, with a view to bringing the members of the Society into closer touch by inducing them to engage into conversation one with another.

Further discussion on this subject will take place at the Sub-Committee Meeting which will precede the next General Meeting.

C. DUROISELLE,

6th June, 1911.

*Honorary Secretary.*

## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Since the formation of the Society a sum of Rs. 3081/- has been collected in the shape of annual subscriptions from members. This sum is made up of Rs. 750/- from five life-members and Rs. 2,331 from 153 ordinary members. The above sum also includes Rs. 30/- paid in advance by one of the members and Re. 1/- and Rs. 5/- paid in excess by two members. The amount expended up to date is Rs. 464/8/6, and so there is a balance in hand of Rs. 2,616/7/6.

TUN NYEIN,

*Honorary Treasurer,*

*The 13th August, 1910.*

*Burma Research Society.*

# ACCOUNTS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

## Income.

	Rs.	A.	P.
<i>May, 1910</i> —Subscriptions from 112 members.    ..	1,981	0	0
Total Rs.	1,981	0	0
<i>June, 1910</i> —Balance in hand	1,666	8	0
Subscriptions from 22 members    ..	590	0	0
Total Rs.	2,256	8	0
<i>July, 1910</i> —Balance in hand	2,215	10	0
Subscriptions from 23 members    ..	480	0	0
Total Rs.	2,695	10	0
<i>August, 1910</i> —Balance in hand	2,632	9	6
Subscriptions from 2 members    ..	30	0	0
Total Rs.	2,662	9	6

## Outgo.

	Rs.	A.	P.
<i>November, 1909, to May, 1910</i>	314	8	0
Balance in hand    ..	1,666	8	0
Total Rs.	1,981	0	0
<i>June, 1910</i> ..	40	14	0
Balance in hand    ..	2,215	10	0
Total Rs.	2,256	8	0
<i>July, 1910</i> ..	63	0	6
Balance in hand    ..	2,632	9	6
Total Rs.	2,695	10	0
<i>August, 1910</i> ..	46	2	0
Balance in hand    ..	2,616	7	6
Total Rs.	2,662	9	6

## STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

On the 15th of August, 1910, the date on which the last statement of accounts was submitted, there was a balance in hand of Rs. 2,616/7/6. Since then a sum of Rs. 931/- has been collected in the shape of annual subscriptions from members. This sum is made up of Rs. 570/- from four life members and Rs. 361/- from twenty-four ordinary members. The above sum also includes Re. 1/- paid in excess by a member. A sum of Rs. 278/7 was expended during the period from the 13th August, 1910, to the 31st January, 1911. So there is a balance in hand of Rs. 3,269/0/6.

TUN NYEIN,

*Dated Rangoon,  
The 1st February, 1911.*

*Honorary Treasurer,  
Burma Research Society.*

# ACCOUNTS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

## ACCOUNTS.

167

Income.		Outgo.	
	RS. A. P.		RS. A. P.
<i>August, 1910—</i>		<i>August, 1910—</i>	
Balance in hand	.. 2,616 7 6	Balance in hand	.. 69 9 0
Subscriptions from 7 members	.. 225 0 0		.. 2,771 14 6
Total Rs.	.. 2,841 7 6	Total Rs.	.. 2,841 7 6
<i>September, 1910—</i>		<i>September, 1910—</i>	
Balance in hand	.. 2,771 14 6	Balance in hand	.. 45 2 0
Subscriptions from 7 members	.. 495 0 0		.. 3,221 12 6
Total Rs.	.. 3,266 14 6	Total Rs.	.. 3,266 14 6
<i>October, 1910—</i>		<i>October, 1910—</i>	
Balance in hand	.. 3,221 12 6	Balance in hand	.. 47 12 0
Subscriptions from 9 members	.. 135 0 0		.. 3,309 0 6
Total Rs.	.. 3,356 12 6	Total Rs.	.. 3,356 12 6

## ACCOUNTS OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY—continued.

Income—continued.		Outgo—continued.	
	RS. A. P.		RS. A. P.
<i>November, 1910—</i>		<i>November, 1910—</i>	
Balance in hand	.. 3,309 0 6	Balance in hand	.. 48 0 0
Subscriptions from 3 members	.. 46 0 0		.. 3,307 0 6
Total Rs.	.. 3,355 0 6	Total Rs.	.. 3,355 0 6
<i>December, 1910—</i>		<i>December, 1910—</i>	
Balance in hand	.. 3,307 0 6	Balance in hand	.. 34 0 0
Total Rs.	.. 3,307 0 6		.. 3,273 0 6
		Total Rs.	.. 3,307 0 6
<i>January, 1911—</i>		<i>January, 1911—</i>	
Balance in hand	.. 3,273 0 6	Balance in hand	.. 34 0 0
Subscriptions from 2 members	.. 30 0 0		.. 3,269 0 6
Total Rs.	.. 3,303 0 6	Total Rs.	.. 3,303 0 6

## LIST OF MEMBERS.

Adamson, The Hon'ble Sir Harvey, M.A., LL.D., KT., K.C.S.I., I.C.S.,	..	..	.. Life Member.
Ainley, C. W., M.A.			
Aiyer, N. C. K., M.A.			
Ali, S. M. *			
Ali Khan, Amed			
AliKhan, Hadayet			
Ananda Metteyya, The Rev. Bhikkhu			
Arbuthnot, R. E. V., I.C.S.			
Arnold, The Hon'ble G. F., I.C.S.			
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Aung Gyi, Maung, (2), B.A.			
Aung Hla, Maung, (1), B.A.			
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Ba Ko, Maung, B.A.			
Ba Shin, Maung			
Ba Tha, Maung, B.A.			
Ba Toke, Maung, *			
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Brown, H. A., B.A., I.C.S.			
Browne, C. E.			
Bulkely, J. P., B.A.			
Burd, Capt. E., I.A.			
Campanac, A. G.			
Cardot, Right Rev. Bishop A.			

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\* Deceased.



- Carr, W., I.C.S.  
Casson, R., B.A., I.C.S.  
Chin Chen, Saw, B.A.  
Chin Htin, Saw, B.A.  
Cholmeley, N. G., C.S.I., I.C.S.  
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Clayton, H., M.A., I.C.S.  
Clerk, F. V.  
Colomb, Col. F. C.  
Cocks, S. W., M.A.  
Cope, J. A., M.A., I.C.S. \*  
Couper, T., B.A., I.C.S.  
Covernton, J. G., M.A., F.R.N.S.  
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Frenchman, Lieut.-Col. E. P., I.M.S.  
Furnivall, J. S., B.A., I.C.S.

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\* Deceased.

- Fyffe, The Right Rev. R. S., M.A.  
 Gaitskell, A., I.C.S.  
 Gale, Maung, (6)  
 Gates, The Hon'ble F. C., C.S.I., I.C.S., *Bar.-at-Law*  
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 Grant, C. F., M. A., I.C.S.  
 Grantham, S. G., B.A , I.C.S.  
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 Grose, F. S.  
 Gyi, Maung, (7)  
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 Hla Baw, Maung, K.S.M.  
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 Houldey, J. E., B.A., I.C.S.  
 Hpaw, Maung  
 Hpay, U, K.S.M., A.T.M.  
 Hunt, H. L. H.  
 Hunter, M., M.A.  
 Jeffery, G. R.  
 Kan Gyi, Maung, A.T.M.  
 Keith, A. D., B.A., M.R.A.S.  
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 Kin Hlaing, Maung  
 Korper, S. St.  
 Kumaran, P. J.  
 Kyaw, U, *Bar.-at-Law*  
 Kyaw Din, Maung, *Bar.-at-Law*  
 Kyaw Dun, Maung

Kyaw Min, Maung, B.A.  
 Kyaw Zan Hla, Maung  
 Kyin Yon, U  
 Laurie, M., M.O.V., I.C.S.  
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 Lowry, W. E., B.A., I.C.S.  
 Luce, The Very Rev. Father E.  
 Ma, Maung  
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 Mathews, H. M. S.  
 Maung, Maung  
 Maung, Maung  
 Maung, Maung, (5)  
 Maung, Maung  
 Maxwell, Col. F. D., I.A. \*  
 Me, Maung  
 Min Din, Maung  
 Mitchell, F. H. O'C., B.A.  
 Moberly, C. H. D.  
 Môn, U, K.S.M.  
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 Ne Dun, Maung, F.R.C.I.  
 Nepean, N. St. V.  
 Ommanney, J. L.

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\* Deceased.

- On Kyaw, Maung  
 Page, A. J., B.A., I.C.S.  
 Parlett, The Hon'ble L. M., I.C.S.  
 Parsons, O. S., I.C.S.  
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 Po Pe, Maung, (2), A.T.M.  
 Po Sa, U, K.S.M.  
 Po Saw, Henry, B.A.  
 Po Saw, Maung  
 Po Sin, Maung  
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 Seppings, E. H.

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\* Deceased.

Set, Maung, B.A.	
Shaw, G. W., C.S.I., I.C.S.	
Shwe Ban, Maung, <i>Bar.-at-Law</i>	
Shwe Po, Maung, (3)	
Shwe Tha, U, K.S.M.	
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The Upper Burma Club, Mandalay	
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Tha Nu, Maung, K.S.M., A.T.M.	
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Tun Nyein, U .. ..	.. Life Member.
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Tun Shein, Maung	
Tun U, Maung	
Tun Win, Maung	
Tun Ya, Maung	
Turner, E. C.	
Venning, Lieut. F. E. W., I.A.	

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\* Deceased.

Webb, C. M., M.A., I.C.S.

White, Sir Herbert Thirkell, K.C.I.E., I.C.S. . . **Life Member.**

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Wickham, P. F.

Williams, Major, C. E., I.M.S.

Winckler, C.

Wright, J. M., I.C.S.

Yaba, A.

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## CHINESE ANTIQUITIES AT PAGAN.\*

BY

TAW SEIN KO, M.R.A.S.,

The Mongol conquest of Pagan, in 1284 A.D., forms an interesting episode in Burmese history, and is related at length at pages 52-56 of Phayre's *History of Burma*, Chapters LI-LII (pages 98-106), Volume II, of Yule's *Marco Polo* and at pages 27-38 of Parker's *Burma: her relations with China*. There is a striking general agreement, both as regards facts and dates, between the Chinese annals and the Burmese chronicles, and the harmony would be complete if the scene of the pitched battle was fixed at Yung'chang, the Vochan of Marco Polo and the Nga-ts'aung-gyan of the Burmese writers, the prefix "Nga" being silent in the Burmese name.

The intercourse thus forcibly opened up between China and Burma was undoubtedly followed by an active Buddhist propaganda, for it is well-known that the Mongols under Kublai Khan favoured Buddhism and appointed an Archbishop of the Buddhist Church. Judging by the architecture of the Nga-kywè-nadaung (unknown date) and of the Seinnyet Pagoda (11th century), there is, however, ample evidence that Buddhist influences from China affected Pagan even before the Mongol conquest. The image of Milo Fo or Maitreya, the Messiah of the Buddhists, who is represented as an obese Chinaman with a protuberant belly and smiling features, (fig. 1) is often met with. The figure illustrated in the Plate was found in the relic-chamber of the Sittanā Pagoda, which was built by Zeyatheinka (1204—1227); and similar figures were discovered elsewhere and in the relic-chamber of the Shwesandaw Pagoda, which was built by Anawrata (1010—1052).

Fig. 2 was found in a Buddhist Monastery, in which there is a tradition that the image, which is headless, has been

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\* Read at the 3rd Ordinary Meeting of the Society on the 4th August, 1911.



handed down from generation to generation for the last 600 years. The Burmans believe it to be a representation of Maitreya, but it is probably a representation of Omīto Fo or Amitābha, the Buddha of boundless light, whose paradise in the West is Sukhāvati. Omīto Fo is the favourite of Chinese Buddhists, and is, by far, the most popular Buddha in China. He is also known as Wu-liang-Shou-Fo.

Fig. 3 was found in the Wet-Kyi-in stream in 1908. It is an exquisitely wrought bronze image of Chin-Kang-Shou, the Vajrapāṇi of Chinese Buddhism.

Fig. 4 is a small earthenware vessel of reddish colour. It was unearthed at the village of Myinkaba and a small quantity of mercury was found in it. Judging by its shape, design, and workmanship, it appears to be of Chinese manufacture.

Fig. 5, (a) and (b), is the most interesting object in the Pagan Museum. It is made of bronze, and the Burmans call it P'ā-zi or the "Frog drum," while the Chinese call it the Chu-Ko-Ku or the war drum of the celebrated Chinese warrior, Chu-Ko-liang or K'ung Ming, who carried his arms as far as Yung Ch'ang, which then formed the frontier between Burma and China, in 220-230 A. D. Bushell gives the following description of it at page 104, Volume I of his "*Chinese Art*":

"Kettle drums of this peculiar form are a characteristic production of the Shan tribes between South-western China and Burma. They are known in China as Chu-Ko-Ku, 'Chu-Ko's Drums', after a famous Chinese general, Chu-Ko-Liang, who invaded the Shan country early in the third century, and one of them is still preserved in his ancestral temple in the province of Szech'uan. Of circular form with bulging shoulder and flat top, displaying a star in the centre and *four conventionalised tree frogs* near the rim, it has four loops on the sides for suspension by cords. It is decorated with encircling rings in relief, filled in with narrow bands of hatched, wavy, concentric and corded ornament of primitive character, and with broader bands apparently derived from human and animal forms suggestive of elephants and peacocks."

Fig. 6 was found in 1906, while ploughing a field at the village of Wet-Kyi-in. It is a porcelain representation of a pair of Brahmany ducks, and is utilized as a vessel for holding the water used in rubbing Chinese ink. It is an utensil exclusively prized by the Chinese literati.

Chinese influence is also traceable in some of the Monuments at Pagan. Fig. 7, is one of the subsidiary buildings attached to the Shwezigôn Pagoda, which was built in the 11th century A.D. It is known as "Swè-daw-zin," "Relic Tower." Its peculiarity is the symmetrical indentation of its four sides, and it may be compared with the Pai-t'ā-ssu or *stūpa* of sculptured marble at Pekin. (Fig. 26 Volume I, Bushell's "*Chinese Art*.")

Fig. 8 illustrates the two leogryphs guarding the entrance of the Shwezigôn Pagoda mentioned above, which are decorated with bells slung round their necks. Such an ornament is absent elsewhere, and may be ascribed to Chinese influence.

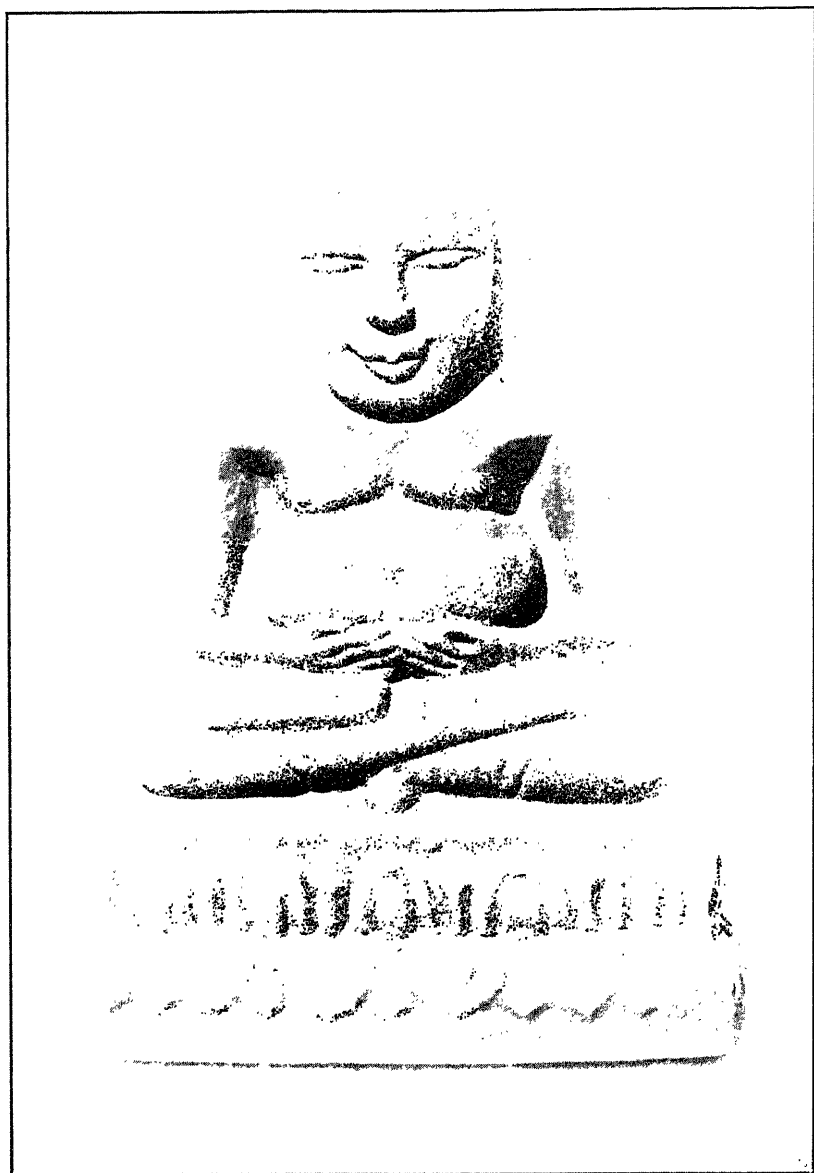
The symbolism of the component parts of a Pagoda is inexplicable to the Burmans of the present day. A cylindrical shaped shrine in Burma rests on three or five square terraces, which are succeeded by an octagon and a circle. Then comes the bell-shaped dome or *dhātu-garbha* (relic-chamber), which is surmounted by concentric circles of an odd number ranging from three or five onwards, an *amla-ka*, and an iron *tī* or crowning umbrella. In some of the ancient Pagodas at Pagan, like the Petleik and Seinnyet, which were built in the 11th century, the four Buddhas of the present cycle are enshrined in niches cut on the upper portion of the bell-shaped dome, Maitreya, the coming Buddha, having no votaries in Burma. The symbolism referred to above is explained by Dr. Bushell at page 62, Volume I, of his "*Chinese Art* : "

"A jewelled pagoda, *pao t'ā* of portentous dimensions is supposed, in the Buddhist cosmos, to tower upwards from the central peak of the sacred mount Meru, to pierce the loftiest heaven, and to illuminate the boundless ether with effulgent rays proceeding from the three jewels of the law and the revolving wheel with which it is crowned. Specu-

lative symbolism of this kind is carried out in the form of the pagoda. The base, four-sided, represents the abode of the four *Mahārājās*, the great guardian Kings of the four quarters, whose figures are seen enshrined here within the open arches. The centre, octagonal, represents the *Tushita* heaven, with eight celestial gods, Indra, Agni, and the rest, standing outside as protectors of the eight points of the compass ; this is the paradise of the Bodhisats prior to their final descent to the human world as Buddhas, and Maitreya, the coming Buddha, dwells here. The upper storey, circular in form, represents the highest heaven in which the Buddhas reside after attaining complete enlightenment ; the figures in niches are the five celestial Buddhas, or Jinas, seated on lotus pedestals."

It would thus appear that the prototype of all pagodas is the *Sulāmaṇi* situated on Mount Meru, in which is enshrined the hair cut off by Siddhārtha on his great renunciation of the world. Meru rests on five terraces. Following this model, Burmese pagodas also rest on five terraces, which number has been reduced to three. At the four corners of the highest terraces, the *Lokapūlas* or *Mahārājās* stand on guard. In indigenous Chinese symbolism, Heaven, or the sky dome, is represented by a circle and the Earth by an octagon, which is formed by joining the ends of the four intersecting lines representing the four cardinal, and the four intermediate, points of the compass. In the symbolism connected with the architecture of a pagoda, an octagon represents the *Tushita* heaven, which is the nearest but one to the abode of men, the *Tavātimsa* intervening between the two. The circular storey surmounting the bell-shaped dome is the Buddhist empyrean, where the past Buddhas dwell after fulfilling their sacred mission on earth. It may be noted that *Nirvāna* as conceived by the Southern School, which is now professed by the Burmans, is without a "local habitation and a name," and the Chinese symbolism found on Burmese pagodas can only be interpreted as an indelible remnant of an order of things, which has passed away.

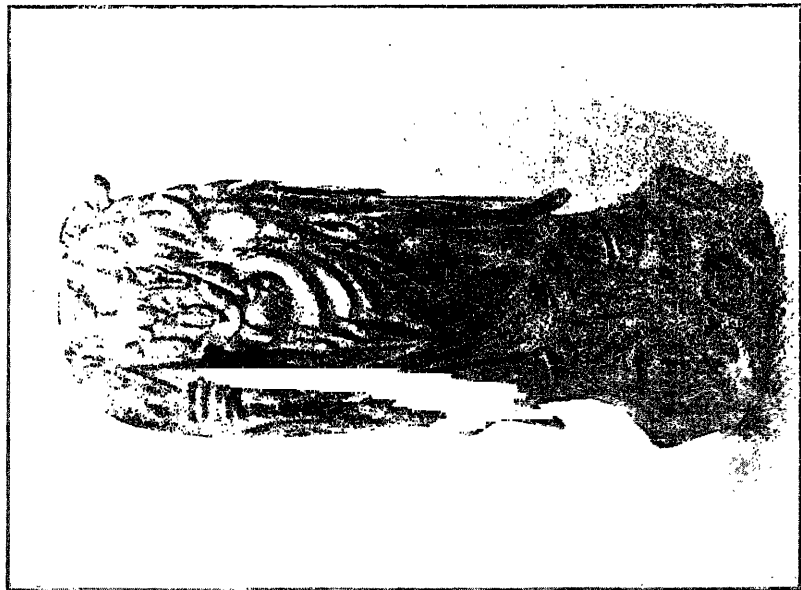
One of the mementoes of the Mongol invasion of the 13th century is a bilingual inscription in Chinese and Mongol.



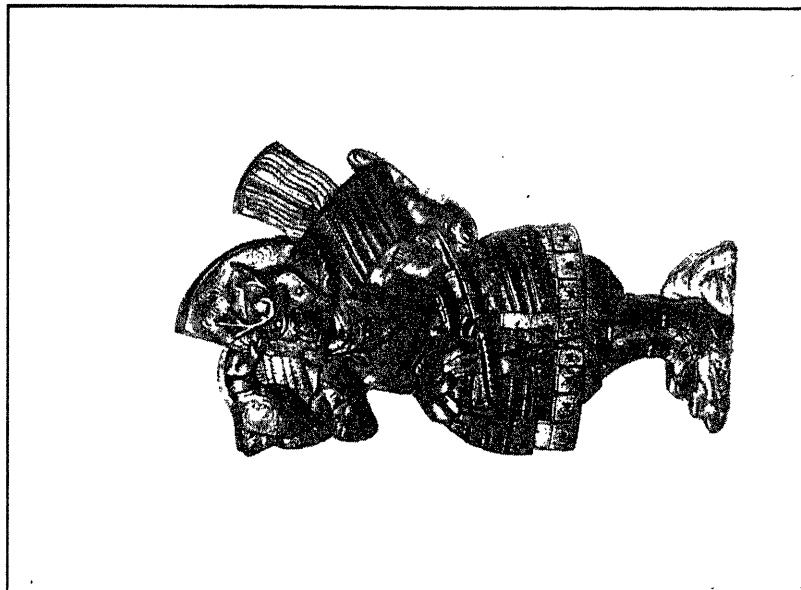
CHINESE ANTIQUITIES AT PAGAN.



2

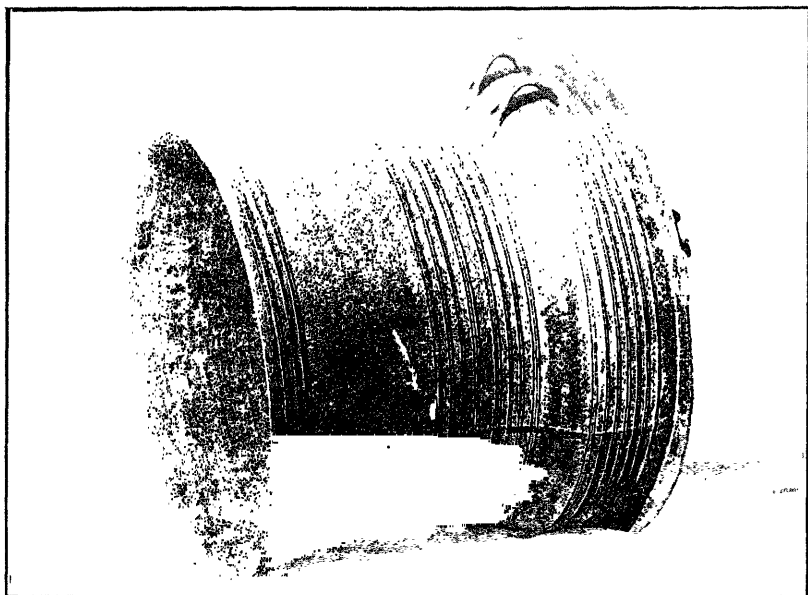


3

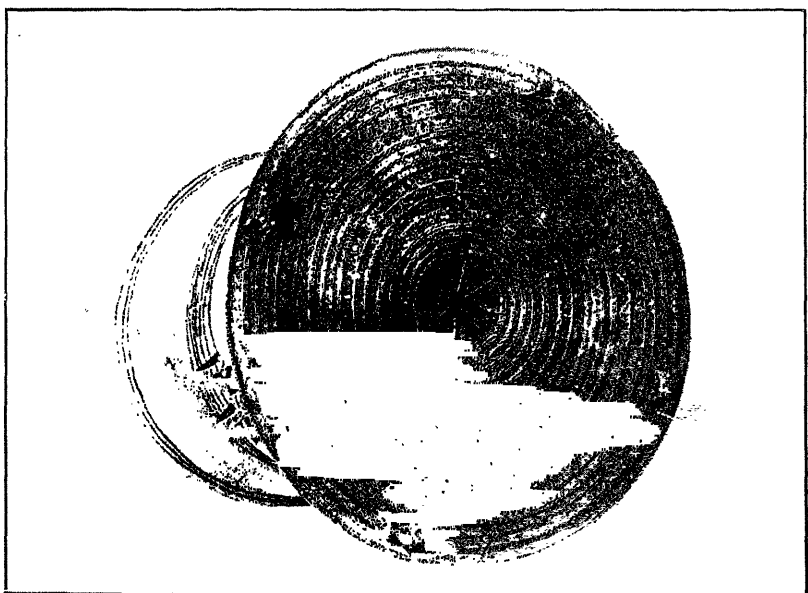




5 B



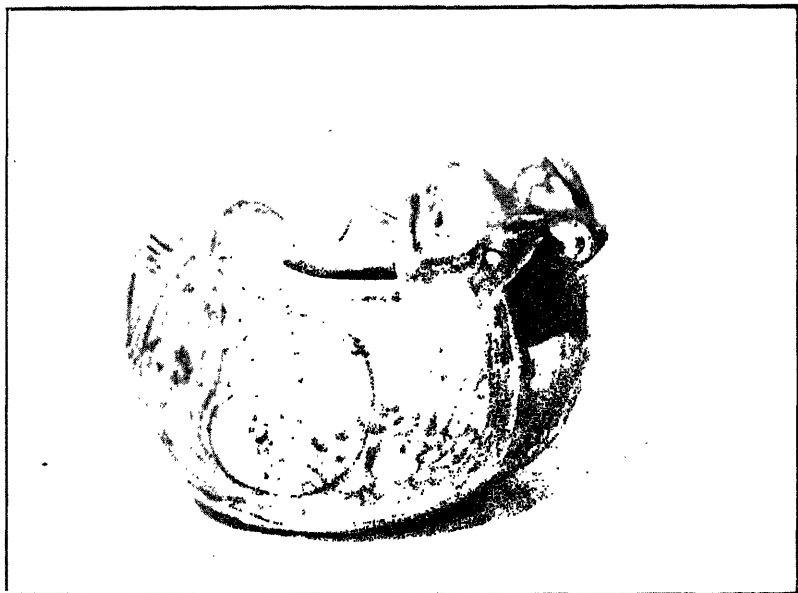
5 A



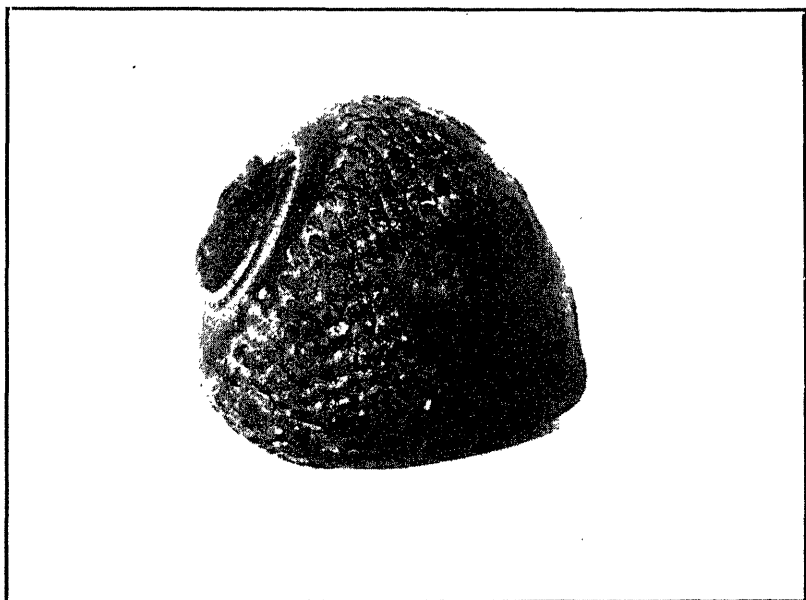




6



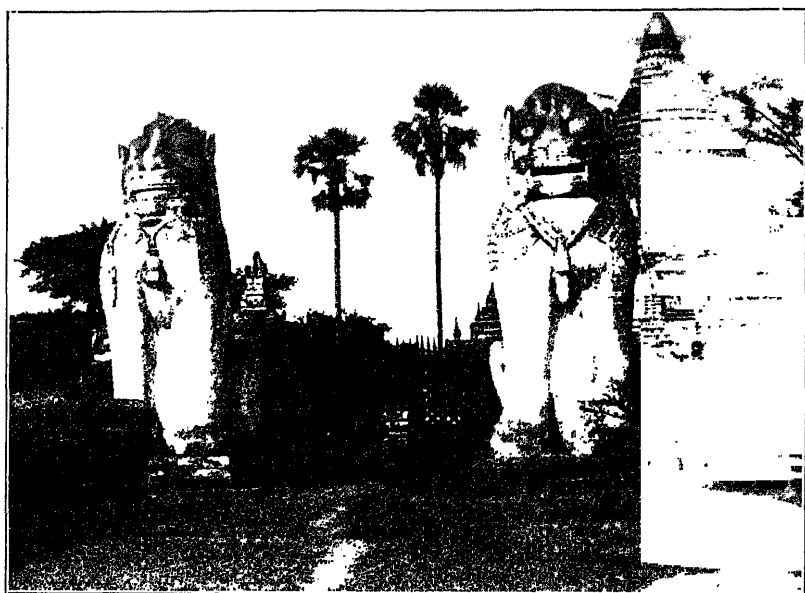
4







8



CHINESE ANTIQUITIES AT PAGAN.



Only a few Chinese characters are legible, and the stone appears to have been set up in order to afford irrefutable evidence, in after times, that the Pagan Monarchy had been reduced to the status of a tributary State to the Chinese Empire. The Mongol forces, aided, no doubt, by Chinese and Shan auxiliaries, converged on Chiangt'ou on the Irrawaddy, (i. e , Kaungtôn), which is below Bhamo, and, after sacking T'ai-Kung (Tagaung) proceeded, by land and water, to Pagan, like an irresistible avalanche, crushing down everything on their onward march. The invasion was, indeed, a cataclysm and served as a great nervous shock paralyzing all initiative, stimulus, and enterprise, and the Burmans had not quite recovered from it in 1886, when what remained of their independent Kingdom was absorbed in the British Indian Empire.

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## THE FOUNDATION OF PAGAN.

"W.i.n.d.e.r.—Winder; go and clean it." If Mr. Squeers were now alive he would probably include "technical instruction" among the advantages of his Academy. His practice may have been defective, but his principle was not devoid of ingenuity. You can never, for instance, become a skilful surgeon by studying coloured diagrams of anatomy. And the problems of history, where we anatomise the past, can never be successfully unravelled without an acquaintance with the relevant physical conditions. The early chronicles of Pagan, for example, are almost unmeaning to those who have not had occasion to visit Yon hlut kyun.

This is the account given in the Hmannan Yazawin, pages 190 to 192, of the destruction of Old Prome, Thayekettaya, and the subsequent migrations. "In the year 16 (of the Dodosara Era) three factions arose, the Pyu, the Kanyan and the Myamma. And there was strife between the Pyus and the Kanyans. After they had spoken in the usual manner, saying:—"Let the issue be decided by the greater number," each side set to building a pagoda. The Pyus built a pagoda to the West of Thayekettaya and the Kanyans to the North. And because of their agreement that victory should be awarded to those who first completed their task, before the Kanyans had yet finished building a large brick pagoda, the Pyus, planning more wisely, built a pagoda of bamboo, and spread it over with white cloths. Which, when the Kanyans saw they called out, "Alas, we have failed," and fled away. After the Kanyans had fled away, once again the Pyus fell to strife among themselves, and were again divided into three parties. One of these occupied Kyabin, another occupied Thet, and the third party built a City in a place called Taungnyo. And after they had dwelt there for the space of three years, because the Talaings again attacked them the City was destroyed. Moving thence they once more founded a City in a pleasant place, Padaung and after the space of six years, because the Kanyan attacked them their City was destroyed. Then

they dwelt three years in Mindon, and after dwelling there three years, in the year 29 King Thamodarit commenced to found a City at Yonhlutkyun."

Here there follows a short digression reconciling the apparent loss of thirteen years from the ancient chronicles. The history continues: "after the end of Mahalaga Ponna in the year 16 the City of Thayekettaya was destroyed, and after wandering for the space of thirteen years King Thamodarit with the people of nineteen villages began to establish a City at Yonhlutkyun. . . . . And these are the nineteen villages: Nyaung U, Nagabo, Naga kyit, Magyigyí, Tade, Kyauksaga, Kokkothein, Nyaungwun, Anurudda, Tasaungkun, Yua mon, Kyin lo, Kokko, Taungba, Myegedwin, Thayet ya, Onmya, Yon hlut, Yuasaik. There were nineteen headmen in the nineteen villages, and over them Thamodarit was King."

Another note gives the reason for including On Mya instead of Singu, a neighbouring, and now much more important, village on the Irrawaddy. Before examining this account in the light of the situation of these villages it is well to give another extract relating to another legend of rather later date. This relates to the third King of Pagan, Pyu Saw 'ti. He was the son of a descendant of the Tagaung Kings, whose father had since the downfall of that dynasty been living at Malè. Encouraged by the prophecy of a hermit to whose care he had been entrusted he set forth to Pagan to make his fortune. He arrived there shortly after the exodus from Prome and the foundation of Yonhlutkyun. As a reward for his assistance in freeing the kingdom of its enemies, presumably the indigenous inhabitants figured allegorically as monsters, he was given the hand of Thamodarit's daughter, and in due course succeeded him on the throne.

The position of Yonhlutkyun and the other villages of the kingdom takes us at least one step in understanding the above accounts; as is well known to everybody who has been along the Upper Irrawaddy there is a ridge running parallel to the river from Nyaung U to Singu, about five miles inland and a thousand feet above the level of the river.



Nyaung U, the most northern of the villages mentioned, lies at a bend of the river commanding a lengthy outlook up and down the river; On Mya, the southernmost, lies just inland from Singu. Yonhlutkyun, however, is situated on the landward side of the ridge, just by the 8th mile-stone on the high road from Nyaung U to Kyaukpadaung. The walls are still pointed out, and a line of brick work can be seen which is supposed to represent them. The place is now under cultivation, but it was certainly inhabited at a date recent enough to lessen the natural infertility of the soil. Towards the river the hill rises like a wall, and its curved outline forms a natural rampart; just to the South of Yonhlutkyun it rises to a peak, almost the highest point in the range, and then drops abruptly to a pass communicating with the river. Landwards there are no defences, the village of Myegedwin forms an outpost to the north-east, but it is evident that little danger was anticipated from this quarter. Attack was dreaded from the river; this is clearly indicated by the outpost at Nyaung U and the position under the shelter of the hill. On the northern spur there are still caves, evidently of ancient date, doubtless the resort of hermits, but possibly destined as a last refuge from an hostile force. With Prome destroyed by the people of the Lower Kingdom, and then driven again from Taung Nyo, it was naturally the river which disturbed their quiet, and the position is just such an one as would have been chosen by people in the circumstances which the chronicles describe.

There were four removals before the final establishment of the capital at Pagan, but it is alleged that on each of these occasions, and thereafter whenever a new capital was founded, soil was taken from Yonhlutkyun. In this connection there is a Burmese phrase, a jumble of Pali and the Vernacular: "Bon mi net than hman thaw mye." This however is a digression. It was not until the reign of Pyu Saw 'ti that the first removal took place, and even then they do not seem to have considered it safe to approach the river bank. For they founded the city of Arimaddana, about two miles inland, on the river side, however, of the ridge.

It is suggested by Phayre that this story of Pyu Saw 'ti is a fiction invented in order to trace a connection between the Burman line and that of the "Kshattriya Kings of Tagaung." But the mixture of architectural styles at Pagan indicates northern influence, and it does not appear impossible that the legend may recount some fusion between the Indian emigrants from Upper India, and the Orissan colonists of Prome. There seems to have been connection with North India otherwise than by sea, and perhaps the most probable way of accounting for them is that indicated in the legend. The position of Yonhlutkyun corroborates to some extent the legend relating to Thamodarit; the subsequent history of Pagan is at least not incompatible with the existence of a substratum of truth in the legend of Pyu Saw 'ti.

J. S. F.

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ပဲခူးဟံသာဝတီမြို့ကိုမင်းအဖြစ်နှင့် စိုးစံတော်မူသော

ရှင်စောဝုဏ်ကြောင်း။

SHIN SAWBU.\*

[This note on Shin Sawbu has been supplied by Saya Thein of Hmawbi. His article in Burmese is printed below. The Editor of this Journal has asked me to put it into English for the benefit of those who find it difficult to read Burmese. I have, accordingly, given a free rendering of it ; and I have taken care to give the names and the dates exactly as they are in the original.

Byinnya Nwe of Pegu (Hanthawaddy) took the title of Razadirit. He was known to the people as Thiharaza. His chief queen, Thuddhamāyā, gave birth to Shin Sawbu on Wednesday, the 14th day of the Waxing of Taboung of the Burmese year 757. [1395 A.D.]

In 1415, at the age of twenty, she was married to Byinnya Bye, nephew of Razadirit. She bore him a son, Byinnya Paru, and two daughters, Netaka Taw and Netaka Thin ; and her husband died.

In 1438, her younger brother, Byinnya Rankit, Governor of Dalla, sent her to Thihathu, King of Ava, who gladly made her one of his Queens.

Not long after, she heard of two young novices, Dhamma-dhara and Dhammanyana, who had come for purposes of study to the Ariyadhaza monastery at Sagaing. She had them invited to her palace, gave them alms, had them fully ordained, built a monastery for them at Sagaing and worshipped them. When she was two years in Ava, she fled in 1440 together with them to Hanthawaddy ; and her brother, governor of Dalla, sent her to Dagon, where she stayed for five years.

In 1445, Hmawdaw, nephew of Shin Sawbu, and grandson of Razadirit and son of Byinnya Rankit ruled as Yuttaraza at Hanthawaddy ; but his reign ended after seven months. There being no male successor to him, the nobles and the ministers made Shin Sawbu Queen, who reigned under the title of Thiritribhawanapyama-aggadhammaraza-dhiraza-Mahadewi.

One day, with sword in hand and Crown on her head, she was going round the City in the State Palanquin, when she

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\* This translation of the paper in Burmese of Saya Thein has been inserted for the benefit of readers who though interested in Burmese History, could not avail themselves of the original. *Edit.*

came across an old man. Her attendants called out to him in rough tones : "Hey, old man, get out of the way." Quick came the retort, "Call me old ! I have vitality enough to beget children yet. It is your sovereign that is old, not I." The queen hearing this daring reply, could hardly believe it to have been uttered by a mortal. She took it to be a sign that she should be named "Old Queen." She accordingly called herself the old Queen. Later, she was given the title Byinnya Taw by the nobles and ministers.

The monk, Dhammadhara, who had accompanied her in her flight from Ava, became, at her wish, a layman under the name Punna. Being a clever man in worldly affairs, she gave him the hand of her younger daughter, Netaka Thin. She also gave to him in marriage her elder daughter, Netaka Taw, after having had her husband, Byinnya Ain, Governor of Bassein, killed. Punna was then made Ein-she-min; and his two wives became known as Wiharadewi and Razadewi. Afterwards, having given her son-in-law, the Ein-She-Min Punna, the title of Punnaraza, she left him and her two daughters in charge of Hanthawaddy, built a rampart on the west of Theinguttara Hill at Dagon, repaired and worshipped the Dagon Pagoda and herself took the name of Withuddhiraza-Byinnya Taw.

After staying nearly 2 years at Ava, she came to Hanthawaddy in 1440 at the age of 45. After staying at Dagon for 5 years, at the age of 50, she ruled for 15 years more at Hanthawaddy under the names of Thiriribhawanapyama-aggadhamma-razadhiraza Mahadewi, Old Queen and Byinnya Taw. At the age of 65, she ruled for 10 years more at Dagon and died at Dagon at the age of 75 in the year 1470. Her son-in-law, Punnaraza, succeeded her and ruled at Hanthawaddy under the name of Dhammazedī. Coming out to Dagon, he duly performed the funeral rites to the remains of his royal mother-in-law.

During the 15 years' reign of Shin Sawbu at Hanthawaddy, the country was in a prosperous condition. The people enjoyed rest, both physical and mental. Monasteries, pavilions and rest-houses were repaired. Governor and governed, priest and layman, all alike enjoyed peace.

During her ten years' reign at Dagon, she offered candles, flowers, water and food to the Dagon Pagoda and observed religious practices. The people did likewise. The Dagon Pagoda became as attractive as if it were in the very midst of the Jetavana grove and never a day passed without some festivity and alms-giving.

This note on Shin Sawbu is found in the Thaton Hnwe Mun Yazawin written by U Thin, minister of the Ein-she-min, who was Governor in Mindat and Kanaung cities, and brother to His Majesty, the King, Convener of the Fifth Council held at the Royal City, Mandalay. It is also found in the Pegu Chronicle.

The account in Hman-nan-yazawin runs thus:—Shin Sawbu was the daughter of Thuddhamāyā, queen of the Talaing King, Razadirit. She was born on Wednesday, the 12th day of the Waxing of Tabaung of the Burmese year 755. [1393 A.D.]

Married, at the age of 20, in 1413, Thameinsithu, nephew of Razadirit. At the age of 25, in 1418, gave birth to a son, Byinnya Paru, and her husband died. At the age of 29 in 1422, was given in marriage to King Thihathu of Ava. At the age of 36 in 1429, she fled with Dhammadhara and Dhammanyana to Hanthawaddy. At the age of 59 in 1452, became queen, taking the name, Byinnya Kyantaw.

This discrepancy is a question to be solved by the learned. One more point to be remembered is that in Burmese plays, we find Dhammazedi and Shin Sawbu in the characters of husband and wife. This certainly is due to ignorance of the true fact. Even nowadays we find people committing the same error in conversation. We also find the name Dhammapāla wrongly put in plays for Dhammanyana. It is to guard against these errors that this present note has been written.]

M. T.

## ပဲခိုးဟံသာဝတီမြို့ကို၊ မင်းအဖြစ်နှင့်ပိုးစံတော်မူသော ရှင်စောပုအကြောင်း။

ပဲခိုးဟံသာဝတီမြို့ကို၊ ဗျညားနွဲ့အမည်မှ၊ ရာဇာဓိရာဇ်အမည်ကိုခံ  
တော်မူသည်။ ပြည်သူတို့က ထိုမင်းကို၊ သီဟရာဇာဟု သမုတ်ကြသည်။  
၎င်းမင်း၏မိဖုရားကြီး သုဒ္ဓမာယာတွင်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၇၅၇ ခု၊ တပေါင်း  
လဆန်း ၁၄ ရက်၊ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးနေ့၊ ဗြိစ္ဆာတွင်လက်ရှိမိမိ၊ ရှင်စောပုကိုမွေး  
ဖွားတော်မူသည်။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၇၇၇ ခုနှစ် အသက် ၂၀ ပြည့်သောအခါ၊ ရာဇာဓိရာဇ်  
တူတော်ဗျညားမြို့နှင့် ထိမ်းမြားလက်ထပ်ရာ၊ သား-ဗျညားပရ၊ သမီး-  
နဲတကာတော်၊ နဲတကာသင်းသားသမီး ၃ ယောက်ဖွားမြင်ပြီးနောက်၊  
လင်ဗျညားမြို့ကံကုန်လေသည်။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၀၀ ပြည့်နှစ်၊ မောင်တော် ဒလမြို့စား ဗျညားရန်ခိုက် က၊ အင်းဝဘုရင်၊ သီဟသူသို့ ပဏ္ဏာတော်အဖြစ်နှင့် ဆက်တော်မူသည်။ သီဟသူ မင်းလည်း ဝမ်းမြောက်တော် မူ၍၊ မိဖုရားတို့ အဆောင် အယောင်နှင့်တကွ၊ အိမ်တော်နှင့်ကောင်းမွန်စွာထားတော်မူလေသည်။

နောက်ဗျားမကြာမီ၊ စစ်ကိုင်းဘက်အရိယာဇေ ကျောင်း၌၊ တလိုင်း ပြည်က၊ ဓမ္မဇေ-ဓမ္မညာဏဟူသော ရှင်သာမဏေ ၂ ပါး စာသင်ရောက် လာကြောင်း သတင်းရ၍၊ ထိုသာမဏေ ၂ ပါးကို၊ ရှင်စောပုက၊ အိမ် တော်သို့ပင့်၍ ဆွမ်းကျွေးလှူဒါန်းပြီးလျှင်၊ ရဟန်းပြုစေလျက်၊ စစ်ကိုင်း ဘက်၊ ခဝါရုံဆိပ်အရပ်တွင်၊ သက်ငယ်ကျောင်းဆောက်၍ တင်ထား ကိုးကွယ်လေသည်။

မိဖုရားရှင်စောပုသည်၊ အင်းဝမြို့တွင် ၂ နှစ်ကြာရှိသောအခါ။ မိမိ ကိုးကွယ်သောရဟန်း ၂ ပါးတို့နှင့် နှီးနှောတိုင်ပင်ပြီးလျှင်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၀၂ ခုနှစ်တွင်၊ ရဟန်း ၂ ပါးတို့ အကြံအစည်နှင့်၊ တိတ်တဆိတ်ခိုး ဆောင်၍၊ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့သို့အရောက်ရှိသည်။ ရောက်သောအခါ၊ မောင် တော်ဒလမြို့စားအမိန့်အရ၊ ဒဂုန်မြို့တွင် နှမတော်အဖြစ်နှင့် ၅ နှစ်ခံတော် မူရသည်။

သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၀၃ ခုနှစ်၊ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ကို၊ ရာဇာဓိရာဇ်မြေး၊ ဗျက္ခ ရာဇာ ဗျညား ရန်ခိုက်မင်း၏ သားတော်၊ ရှင်စောပုတူ၊ မင်းမောဝေ သည်။ ယုတ္တရာဇာ အမည်ခံ၍ မိုးခံရာ၊ စည်းစိမ် ၇ လတွင် အနိစ္စရောက် ၍၊ မှူးမတ်စစ်သူကြီး ပရောဟိတ်ပညာရှိတို့ ညှိနှိုင်းတိုင်ပင်၍၊ ထီးနန်း ဆက်ခံရန်၊ သားတော်အဆက်မရှိဖြစ်က၊ ထို့အရှင်ရင်သွေးတော်၊ မင်း မိမ္မပင်ဖြစ်သော်လည်း၊ မင်းအဖြစ်ကိုမြှောက်၍ အုပ်စိုးစေရတော့မည် ဟု၊ ရှင်စောပုကိုမင်းမြှောက်ကြလေသည်။

ရှင်စောပုလည်း၊ သီရိတြိတဝနာပြမအဂ္ဂဓမ္မာရာဇာဓိရာဇာ၊ မဟာဒေ ဝီအမည်ကို ဘိသိက်ခံ၍ မင်းပြုသည်။ မင်းတို့အဆောင်အယောင်မကိုဋ် သရဖူဆောင်း၍၊ သန်လျက်ကိုကိုင်ပြီးလျှင်၊ ဝေါတော်ကိုစီးလျက်၊ မြို့ကို လှည့်လည်ကြည့်ရှုတော်မူရာတွင်။ လူအိုတယောက်ကို မြှော်ရှုကြုံတွေ့၍၊ စမြောင်းသားတို့က၊ ယုံလူအို ယွားဘိဆိုသည်ကို၊ လူအိုကတုံ့ပြန်ပြော သည်မှာ၊ ငါလူအိုကို မိမ္မပျိုကိုပေးလျှင်၊ သားရဦးမည်။ ကိုယ်တို့သခင် မင်းသာအိုသည်၊ ငါမအိုဟုဆိုလေက။ ရှင်စောပုကြားလေလျှင်၊ ဤကဲ့သို့ ရဲ့ရဲ့ခွံခွံပြောဆိုသည်မှာ။ စင်စစ်လူမဟုတ်တန်ရာ။ နတ်တို့သာဖြစ်တန်ရာ သည်ဟု တွေးတောဆင်ခြင်ပြီးကာလ။ ငကို မင်းအိုအမည် ခံစေလို၍၊ မိုမိတ်ပြသောလက္ခဏာတူသည်ဟု အယူရှိသောကြောင့်၊ မင်းအိုအမည်

ကိုယ်ခံ၍ အိပ်ခံတော်မူသည်။ နောက်ဗုဒ္ဓဘုရားတော်အမည်ကိုလည်း၊  
ရှုမတ်စစ်သူကြီးပရောဟိတ်ပညာရှိတို့ကသမုတ်တော်မူကြသည်။

အင်းဝမြို့ကပါလာသော ရဟန်း၊ ရှင်ဓမ္မဓရကို လူထွက်စေ၍၊ ပုဏ္ဏ  
အမည်ကိုပေးပြီးလျှင်၊ ကောင်းစွာထားသည်။ လူမှုရေးရာ နားလည်  
ကျွမ်းကျင်သော အခါ။ သမီးငယ် နဲတကာသင်နှင့် ထိမ်းမြားတော်မူ  
သည်။

သမီးအကြီး နဲတကာတော်၏ခင်ပွန်း၊ ပုသိန်မြို့စား ဗုဒ္ဓဘုရား၏ကို  
လုပ်ကြံစေ၍၊ ၎င်းသမီးအကြီးနှင့်လည်း ထိမ်းမြားတော်မူသည်။ ပုဏ္ဏ  
ကို အိမ်၌ အရာပေးသနားတော်မူသည်။ ထိုအခါ၊ နဲတကာတော်ကို  
ဝိဟာရပေး၍ နဲတကာသင်ကို ရာဇဝေဒီဘွဲ့ကိုပေးသနားတော်မူသည်။

နေ့ ကံသားမက်တော်ပုဏ္ဏအိမ်၌ မင်းကို၊ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့တွင်၊ သမီး  
တော် ၂ ပါးနှင့်၊ ပုဏ္ဏရာဇာဟူသော အမည်နှင့်၊ အစောင့်အနေခန့်ထား၍၊  
ရှင်စောပုသည်၊ ဒဂုန်မြို့၊ သိင်္ဂုတ္တရကုန်းတော် အနောက်မျက်နှာတွင်၊ မြေ  
မြို့ရိုးတည်၍၊ ဒဂုန်စေတီတော်မြတ်ကို ပြုပြင်ဆည်းကပ် ပူဇော်တော်မူ  
လျက်၊ ဝိသုဒ္ဓိရာဇာဗုဒ္ဓဘုရားတော်အမည်ကိုခံတော်မူပြန်သည်။

၎င်းဝိသုဒ္ဓိရာဇာ ဗုဒ္ဓဘုရားတော်မင်းသည်၊ အင်းဝမြို့တွင် ၂ နှစ်ခန့်နေ  
ပြီးမှ၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၀၂ ခုနှစ်၊ သက်တော် ၄၅ နှစ်တွင်၊ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့သို့  
ရောက်ရာ၊ ဒဂုန်မြို့တွင် နှမတော်အဖြစ်နှင့် ၅ နှစ်၊ သက်တော် ၅၀ ပြည့်  
သည့်အခါ၊ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့တွင်၊ သီရိတြိတဝနာ ပြမအဂ္ဂဓမ္မရာဇာမိရာ  
ဇာမဟာဒေဝီအမည်။ မင်းအိုအမည်။ ဗုဒ္ဓဘုရားတော်အမည်ကိုခံ၍ မင်း  
အဖြစ်နှင့် စံတော်မူသည် ၁၅ နှစ်။ ဒဂုန်မြို့တွင် သက်တော် ၆၅ နှစ်၊ ဝိ  
သုဒ္ဓိရာဇာ ဗုဒ္ဓဘုရားတော်အမည်ကိုခံတော်မူ၍ စံတော်မူသည် ၁၀ နှစ်။  
သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၃၂ ခုနှစ်၊ သက်တော် ၇၅ နှစ်တွင် ဒဂုန်မြို့နိုက် အနိစ္စ  
ရောက်တော်မူသည်။

ရှင်စောပုအနိစ္စရောက်တော်မူသောအခါ၊ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့ကို၊ သား  
မက်တော်အိမ်၌ မင်း ပုဏ္ဏရာဇာက၊ ဓမ္မစေတီအမည်ကိုခံ၍ ထီးနန်းကို  
ဆက်ခံစိုးစံတော်မူပြီးလျှင်၊ ဒဂုန်မြို့တွင်တော်မူလာ၍၊ ယောက္ခမ ရှင်  
စောပုအလောင်းကိုသင်းပြုဟုပူဇော်တော်မူသည်။

ရှင်စောပုသည်၊ ဟံသာဝတီမြို့တွင် မင်းအဖြစ်နှင့် ၁၅ နှစ်တိုင် စိုးစံ  
တော်မူသည့်အတွင်း၊ နိုင်ငံတော်သာယာဝပြောစည်ပင်သည်။ ပြည်သူ  
တို့ကိုယ်စိတ် ၂ ပါးချမ်းသာကြသည်။ ရွှေကျောင်း၊ ရွှေပြသား၊ စရပ်စ  
သည်တို့ ဟောင်းနွမ်းပျက်စီးသည်များကို ပြုပြင်တော်မူသည်။ မင်းနှင့်  
ပြည်သူ၊ အရိယာသင်္ဘော၊ ပုဏ္ဏားတို့ စိတ်၏ချမ်းသာ စွာနှင့် မင်းပြုတော်  
မူသည်။

ဒဂုန်မြို့တွင် မင်းအဖြစ်နှင့် ၁၀ နှစ်တိုင်ခံနေတော်မူသောအခါ။ ဒဂုန် ဆံတော်ရှင်ကို၊ အာရုံကြီးစွာပြု၍၊ နေ့တိုင်းမပြတ်၊ ဆီမီးဝတ်၊ ပန်းဝတ်၊ ရေချမ်း၊ သင်ပုတ်နှင့် သီတင်းသီလတာဝန်နာ ဆောက်တည်၍ နေတော်မူသည်။ ပြည်သူအပေါင်းတို့လည်း မင်းကိုလိုက်၍ ကျင့်ဆောင်ကြလေသည်။ ဒဂုန်ဆံတော်ရှင်ဘုရားသည်၊ ဘုရားချစ်ရှင် ဇေတဝန်ကျောင်းတော်တွင်ရှိသကဲ့သို့၊ အလှူအတန်းအရောက်အပေါက်များ၍ ပွဲလမ်းသတင်မည်သည့်နေ့ကိုမည်မရှိရ၊ ရှိလေသည်။

ဤရှင်စောပု အတ္ထုပ္ပတ္တိသည်၊ မန္တလေး ရတနာပုံ မြို့တော်တည်။ ပဉ္စမသင်္ဂါယနာတင်၊ မင်းတရားကြီး၏ညီတော်၊ မင်းတပ်မြို့၊ ကနောင်မြို့စား၊ အိမ်ရှေ့မင်း၏အိမ်ရှေ့ဝန်၊ ငယ်မည်ဦးသင် ရေးမှတ်ထားသော သထုံနွယ်မွန်ရာဇဝင်ပါရှိလေသည်။ ခဲဗိုင်းရာဇဝင်ချုပ်တွင်လည်းပါရှိသည်။

မွန်နန်းရာဇဝင်ကြီးမှာ။ ၊ တလိုင်း ရာဇာဓိရာဇ် မိဖုရား၊ သုဒ္ဓမာယာတွင် မြင်သောသမီးတော်တည်း။ သက္ကရာဇ် ၇၅၅ ခု၊ တပေါင်းလဆန်း ၁၂ ရက်၊ ဗုဒ္ဓဟူးနေ့တွင်ဖွားသည်။ သက်တော် ၂၀၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၇၇၅ ခုတွင်၊ ရာဇာဓိရာဇ်တူ၊ သမိန်စည်သူနှင့်စုံတက်သည်။ အသက် ၂၅ နှစ်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၇၈၀ တွင်၊ သားတော်ဗျညားပရူးကိုဖွား၍၊ သမိန်စည်သူလွန်သည်။ အသက် ၂၉ နှစ်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၇၈၄ ခုတွင်၊ ဆင်ဖြူရှင်သီဟသူကိုဆက်၍ အင်းဝသို့ရောက်သည်။ အသက် ၃၆ နှစ်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၇၉၁ ခုတွင်၊ ဓမ္မရေ-ဓမ္မညာဏရဟန်း ၂ ဦးတို့ခိုး၍၊ ဟံသာဝတီသို့ရောက်လေသည်။ အသက် ၅၉ နှစ်၊ သက္ကရာဇ် ၈၁၄ ခု၊ ဗျညားကျန်းတောအမည်ခံ၍ မင်းဖြစ်သည်ဟု၊ ဤမျှသာဖော်ပြလျက်ရှိသည်။

ထိုမွန်နန်းရာဇဝင်တော်ကြီးအဆိုနှင့်၊ အိမ်ရှေ့ဝန် ဦးသင်ရေးကူးထားသော သထုံနွယ်မွန် ရာဇဝင်၊ ခဲဗိုင်းရာဇဝင်ချုပ်တို့ အဆိုမညီရှိသည်။ သက္ကရာဇ်ချင်းမညီကွဲပြားလျက်ရှိချေသည်။ ။ ဆင်ခြင်ရန်။

ဤရှင်စောပု အကြောင်းကို သတိပြုစေလိုသော လိုရင်းအချက်ကြီးတစ်ခုမှာ၊ မြန်မာသတင်သည်တို့၊ ဇာတ်၊ ရုပ်စုံ၊ ကျင်းပ၊ ကပြကြသောအခါ၊ ရာဇဝင်ကိုသေချာစွာမကြည့်ရှု။ ရာဇဝင်ထွက်မထုတ်ဘဲလျက်၊ ဓမ္မစေတီနှင့်၊ ရှင်စောပုကို၊ လင်မယားပြုလုပ်၊ ကပြကြသည်။ သို့လိုသတင်သည်တို့၊ ဇာတ်သတင်ကျင်းပ၊ ကပြကြသည်ကိုပင်၊ ဗဟုသုတအကြား အမြင်ညံ့ဖျင်းသူတို့က။ အကယ်အဟုတ်မှတ်၍၊ သားမက်နှင့်ယောက္ခမကို၊ လင်မယားဟူ၍ ယခုတိုင် ပြောဆိုလျက်ရှိကြသည်ကို ကြားသိရသည်။ ဓမ္မညာဏကို၊ ဇာတ်ရုပ်သေးတို့က။ ဓမ္မပါလအမည်ပြု၍၊ ကပြကြသည်။



သို့ကြောင့်၊ဗဟုသုတကို လိုလားသော ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်တို့၏ မိတ်နှလုံးချမ်း  
မြေ့စေရန်နှင့်၊ နောင်လာနောက်သားတို့၊ ထင်လျှားစွာ ကွဲကွဲပြားပြား  
သိကြစေရန်၊ရေးသားဖော်ပြလိုက်ပါသည်။

ဆရာသိန်း။

မှော်ဘီ။

# NOTE ON SAYA THEIN'S SHIN SAWBU.

[In an Archæological survey report of 1894, it is stated that the first trustworthy statements (as to the construction of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda) are those which relate to the repairs and works carried out by the Talaing Queen Shinsobû of Pegu between A. D. 1459 and 1469, who raised the height of the pagoda to 129 feet, made terraces on the hill, paved the topmost one with stone, and set apart land and hereditary slaves for the service of the shrine, as recorded on three large stone slabs engraved by order of the Talaing King Dhammачeti in B. E. 847, or A. D. 1485, and standing near the middle of the stone steps on the east ascent to the pagoda, about 50 feet below the present platform. We are also told that the same Queen similarly enlarged the Sule Pagoda.

More should be known of this pious lady whose name is a household word among Burmans, and Saya Thein's article helps to clear away certain popular misconceptions. It may not be generally known that on Windsor Road at the southern approach to Sangyaung village is a *kyauṅ* near which is a small ruined pagoda known to Burmans in Rangoon as Shin-saw-bu's grave or cemetery. It might be useful to investigate this, and, if the belief is correct, to mark the spot suitably as a memorial.]

M. O.

## THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA.

BY R. GRANT BROWN, I.C.S.

The scope of Dr. Grierson's great work, the Linguistic Survey of India, extends only to what may perhaps be called, though the term has, of course, no scientific justification, India proper,—the Indian Empire without Burma. It might be thought, therefore, that it is of no interest to us in Burma. This, however, is very far from being the case ; and it is in order to draw attention to the usefulness of the work in our frontier districts that this note is written.

The volumes that specially concern us are four in number, and are thus described in the list published at the beginning of each volume. The "parts" are really separate volumes.

Vol. II. Mon-Khmer and Tai families.

Vol. III. Tibeto-Burman family.

Part I. Tibetan Dialects, Himalayan Dialects, and North Assam Group.

Part II. Bodo, Naga, and Kachin groups.

Part III. Kuki-Chin and Burma groups.

The present note is concerned only with the three parts of Vol. III. Part I. contains a treatise on the general characteristics of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages. The rest of the volume, as may be seen from the map, deals in detail with languages far removed from our frontier, and though it includes Tibetan is only of interest to those among us who have a turn for philology and can appreciate Mr. Houghton's "Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Palæontology" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1896, an article which many will find fascinating in spite of its alarming title. Part II deals with the Bodo (or as we should write it Bawdaw) group, all well beyond our borders in Assam or Chittagong, or further away still. But it also includes the Naga languages, spoken in and along the border of the Upper Chindwin ; and Kachin, spoken in Myitkyina and other districts. Part III embraces the Kuki-Chin group. Dr. Grierson explains that he is not responsible for the name, which is a legacy from older writers. Kuki is merely

the name applied in Assam to the people that we call Chins, though a Kuki from our Chin country may, when he goes over the border, be referred to officially as a Chin, just as a Chin from over the Assam border may be called a Kuki by our officials. The "Burma group," which one naturally looks forward to with interest, is a little disappointing. It does not include Burmese, and only a few pages are devoted to it. This, of course, is due to its being almost entirely outside the scope of the survey. The only language dealt with in detail is Mru, spoken in the Arakan Hills.

The introduction in Part I should be read by everyone who is about to be introduced to one of the members of the family, and wishes to study the language in an intelligent way.\* It is to be feared that the number of those who so study Burmese is very small indeed. It is usual to follow one of two methods, both wrong and unworthy of an educated man, and both productive of poor results. One may be called the method of the Madrassi "boy," or of the Chinaman who acquires "pidgin" English. An attempt, that is, is made to pick up the language by ear. In the case of languages roughly similar in structure, as the Aryan languages are to each other, it is not very difficult for the ordinary man to learn to speak with a tolerable degree of correctness, provided he has long and constant intercourse with the natives in their own tongue; though individuals differ to an extraordinary degree in the faculty for learning languages by ear, so that where one would succeed, another, equally intelligent, might altogether fail. The case is otherwise with languages which differ in structure, and in the kind of difficulties which they present, as widely as Chinese or Burmese and English,—or rather, one should say, the first two and Latin or French, the highly-inflected languages through which most English have acquired their notions of how a foreign language ought to be learnt. It is precisely this wide difference which is responsible for the existence in the Chinese treaty-ports of "pidgin" English, the idea of inflec-

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\* I must confess to not having seen Dr. Grierson's treatise when my "Half the Battle in Burmese," was published, or I should of course have referred to it.

tions being altogether strange to a Chinaman, so that he simply ignores them, and, finding that he can make himself more or less understood without them, goes on ignoring them. It also results in what may be called "pidgin" Burmese,—Burmese spoken without any attempt to give the correct tones or to differentiate the aspirates from the unaspirated consonants, though it is to be feared that most of us officials never acquire anything else. A Chinaman learning a tonic language different from his own would never think of ignoring the tones, just as an Englishman learning an inflected language different from his own would never think of ignoring the inflections, especially if he has received the ordinary education and been brought up to the idea that the inflections are the first thing to go for.

The other common method of acquiring Burmese is to learn it from a book as if it were an inflected language, and a dead one. A half-educated man, whose linguistic training has been limited to a smattering of Latin and French grammar, demands a book which will give him the old familiar divisions into nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, cases and moods and tenses, and all the paraphernalia of an inflected language. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico* He shies at the tones and aspirates as things beyond his comprehension, being quite ignorant of the fact that, once their existence is realized, they are ridiculously easy to remember as compared, say, with the genders of French nouns or the vagaries of French irregular verbs. The fact that the divisions with which he is familiar do not exist in Burmese is nothing to him. He has been brought up to learn a foreign language in that way, and he will have no other. He gets his way, too. The public generally obtains what it wants, and Englishmen about to learn Burmese, which is innocent of inflections and of most of the difficulties which beset European languages, have been presented with a paulo-post-perfect tense, and the Pali equivalent of its title in Burmese characters!

The second method, of course, results, like the first, in mere "pidgin" Burmese. But the labour of acquiring even this is enormously increased by the artificial difficulties

created, and when the real difficulties of the language are realized the learner is sickened at finding that he has to unlearn everything and begin all over again.

It is the more to be regretted that Dr. Grierson's illuminating introduction to the Tibeto-Burman languages is buried in one of a long series of huge volumes which are inaccessible to most of those who wish to learn Burmese. The volumes dealt with here, however, have been supplied to the Upper Chindwin district library, and might with advantage be obtained for other district libraries which have not got them. As the publication is a Government one the cost will be nothing unless a reprint is made necessary.

For one familiar with Burma to criticize these volumes in the light of his special knowledge might be expected to give an unfair idea of the work as a whole, as it professedly deals with Burma only incidentally and with knowledge obtained at second-hand. As a matter of fact, however, there are very few mistakes. The map opposite page 193, Part II, makes no attempt to show the large Naga-speaking area within the political but outside the administrative boundaries, of Burma. The Marings, who are the only Nagas represented as occupying territory within our political boundaries, are in reality confined, as far as is known, to a few households in Thaungdut State, while the villages to the south-east of the Patkoi range appear to be more Naga than Singpho, though the Singphos dominate the Taro and Hukawng valleys further east. There is no map showing the Chin-speaking area, which is just as well, for with the knowledge existing when the survey was made out Nagas would assuredly have been included among the Chins. The map opposite page 499, Part III, gives too large an area to Kachin. This language is represented as spoken throughout the Upper Chindwin district north of Tamanthi on the Chindwin and Nanthu on the Uyu, except in the patches represented in official maps (without any authority, for the State has no boundaries and is almost confined to the banks of the Chindwin) as Kanti State. As a matter of fact Kachin is unknown in administered territory except in two small

hamlets in Kanti State while in unadministered villages it is not heard south of lat. 26°. It may be doubted whether any of these mistakes could have been avoided, for official information had to be relied on, and official knowledge of these areas was very slight.

The statement (p. 499, Part II) that Kakhyen represents the modern pronunciation of Kachin in Lower Burma may puzzle some Anglo-Burmans. Arakan, of course, is meant, and Arakan is a part of Lower Burma. As a matter of fact *en* or *eng*, the intermediate form between the written *ang* and the modern *in*, is still the ordinary pronunciation in the Upper Chindwin.

In Part III the remarks on the Burma group contain some views which are usually accepted, but which I venture to doubt. The theory that the Kadus are "Burmese and Shan half-breeds with traces of Chin and perhaps Kachin blood" seems to have been evolved by a study of them in Katha district. Whatever evidence there may be for it there, it is not borne out by facts recently discovered in the Upper Chindwin. Here the Kadu language is practically extinct, but it was spoken two generations ago in many villages along the Chindwin, especially to the west of it, and in the Kabaw valley bordering on Manipur. It is still remembered by the old people, including two old women who were born within two miles of the district courthouse. The people who once spoke Kadu now call themselves Burmans, but Kadus are vaguely included among Shans by the people of the district, who apply the term Shan to any people who are not hillmen and are less civilized than the Burmese. Thus the Tamans, who undoubtedly speak a distinct language, closely allied to Burmese in structure and having nothing whatever to do with Shan if we except a few words which have obviously been borrowed, are invariably called Shans by a European. A Burmese history of unknown origin dealing with Yazagyo, (Rajagriha) the ancient headquarters of the Kale State in the south of the district, states that the languages spoken in its early days were Shan, Kantu were Shan, Kantu\* or Kadu, Kanzet or Kaget, and

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\* The form Kantu is still used on the west of the Chindwin.

Thet ; and there is a vague tradition of a Kadu kingdom with its capital in the Mahamyaing forest to the east of the Chindwin near the border of Shwebo. It is also worthy of note that the Kadus are the only non-Burman people in the district who have no tradition of having come from elsewhere. The Tamans, mentioned above, say they came from the mountains to the west now occupied by Nagas, and before that from China.

From what I have seen of Kadu it seems to me probable that, like Taman, it is a language cognate to, but quite distinct from, Burmese. It is likely enough that some people calling themselves Kadus may talk a jumble of Kadu, Burmese, and Shan ; while Mr. Houghton has noticed some roots which are also found in Southern Chin. Indeed a Kadu on the border of Katha tried to palm off the Shan numerals on to me as genuine Kadu, and afterwards confessed that he had forgotten those of his own language. But these facts do not show Kadu to be a hybrid any more than the other languages of Burma are.

The languages now commonly spoken in the Upper Chindwin are Burmese and Shan. It is obvious that the Burmese is the result of the Burmese domination, which did not exterminate the inhabitants but caused them, with the powerful aid of Buddhism and universal education, to adopt the Burmese language and customs. It seems to me highly probable that the presence of the Shan language is, in exactly the same way, the result of the Shan domination which preceded the Burmese, and that the language most generally spoken before Shan was Kadu,—itself perhaps, imposed by the Kadus on many tribes other than their own. It is also reasonable to suppose that the people who introduced the Burmese language into Burma was but one tribe out of many, and that its particular language or dialect has by degrees mastered the rest, and also the languages of quite different stocks, such as the Talaing. The Kadus may very well have been another of the tribes who eventually formed the Burmese people.

Most people in Burma will be surprised to hear it disputed that "Yakaingtha" means "son of Arakan," and

"Chaungtha" "son of the river." (P. 379, Part III). Yet I venture to think that this meaning attached to *tha* is at least open to question, though the root may be the same. The Burmese for "townspeople" is *myo-thu-myo-tha*, *thu* referring to the women and *tha* to the men. *Thu* does not mean "daughter," and if *tha* means "son" one would expect *myo-thāmi-myo-tha*, which is certainly never heard. Again, the word for "workman" is *loktha*. If this were literally "son of the toil" one would expect "āloktha." The truth seems to be that the metaphor is a Hebraism, familiar to us through the Bible but as foreign, perhaps, to Burmese idiom as to our own.

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## THE DERIVATION OF PROME.

The derivation of the Burmese name ပြည် (prañ, pronounced 'Pray' in Arakan and 'Pyi' in Burma proper) seems to have defied scholars. Phayre thought that it was probably connected with the tribal name 'pru' (pron. Pyu). Burmese scholars are inclined to derive it from 'Puram' or 'Puri' (town), on the analogy of their common noun 'Pri' (Town or province). On pp. 454 & 455, *Buddhism*, Vol. I, Mr. Taw Sein Ko writes :—"The derivation of the word 'Mranma' is intimately connected with that of the word Prome, the centre of the Brahma cult and of Brahmanical influence. This word should be spelt 'Prohm', because it is another form of the Talaing name 'Brohm'. Again, 'Brohm' is another form of 'Brahm', 'a' and 'o' being interchangeable. Therefore Prome means 'the City of Brahma'." The Cambodian 'Prohm' for 'Brahma' lends support to this derivation. But Prof. Duroiselle in his *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Burma* (pp. 3 & 4) has exploded the above theory. He has shown that the Burmese 'Prañ' cannot possibly be derived from 'Brahma', nor the Talaing 'Prañ' (pron. 'pron') from ပြေ 'Brom' (pron. 'prām'), according to Burmese and Talaing phonetics. The learned Professor, however, writes :—"It is then in Talaing documents that we must look for the origin of the name, the signification of which I do not know". But why should we look to the Talaings for the origin of practically a Burmese name? The word 'Prañ' in Burmese admits of two pronunciations—the earlier 'Prin' as in ပြင် (Asin), or the later 'Pri', as in ပြီကား (Si-ga-thi). The Arakanese pronounce the word 'Pray' but their earlier pronunciation was apparently 'Praing'. The origin of this word is still preserved to us in the name of the last King of Tharekhettara. He is known to posterity as Thu-panya-nagara-chinna (Pali Supaññā-nagara-chinna—one who has the good 'Town of Wisdom' cut off). Phayre writes 'Thupinya or Nagara-chinna', as if the latter is the nick-name given to the King Thupinya because the town came to an end with his

reign. The Burmese do not separate the two words 'Paññā' and 'Nagara', though they readily drop the prefix 'Su' and the final word 'Chinna', as on p. 349 of the *Samanta-cak-khu-dipani*, which was written a little over a century ago. The name 'Prañ-mro', bearing in mind the earlier pronunciation, was therefore derived from the Burmanised Sanscrit 'Praññā-nagara'. It denotes that Prome was a seat of learning in those old days when Indian Rishis were teachers of the people. This fact would partly account for the preference of Sanscritised words among the Burmese.

S A.

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## BURMESE NURSERY RHYMES.

In the new Burmese readers which are now under preparation by the Education Department a number of cradle songs or nursery rhymes, as we may call them, have been very sensibly included. There can be no doubt that snatches of modern *pwe* songs are tending to oust the cradle songs proper. Many of these have high poetical quality and for the benefit of the children of the country it is right that an effort should be made to prevent them from passing into oblivion.

Of the nursery rhymes which the writer has succeeded in collecting, the majority can be grouped under the following heads :—

1. Dealing with or addressed to animals, particularly a big tom-cat, which seems to be much dreaded.
2. Addressed to the moon.
3. Dealing with trees and other natural objects; many of these are local.

A few of the best are given below. It may be explained that the end of what would be a "line" of English poetry is denoted by the punctuation mark ».

1. အိပ်ချင်တဲ့မျက်တောင်။ မွေးရောင်ရောင်။ မျက်တောင်ကော့ကလေး။  
ပေမွေးမွေး။

"Drowsy eye-lashes, eyes half-closed with sleep; little upward-curving eyelashes and sleepy eyes."

2. လူကလေးထဲ။ အိပ်ချိန်တန်။ ဂျိုင်းရွှေကပျံ။ လူကလေးအိပ်ချင်ဘူး။  
ဂျိုင်းရွှေကပျံ။

"Little boy, 'tis time to sleep, the paddy bird is flying away in front of you. Little boy doesn't want to sleep, for the paddy bird is still circling about."

3. လူကလေးဖြူဖြူ။ မိုင်းတောင့်နှံ့တူ။ တော်တော်ကြီးခါးမှ။ လူကြီးနှံ့တူ။

"Little white boy, like a roll of cotton. When he is fairly big, he will be like a big man."

There is an innocent little *double entente* here as မိုင်းတောင့် is one of the pretty names for a baby boy's ဖုန်း။

4. ကြောင်ဘားကြီး၊ မြီးတန်ထိုး၊ အဆီကိုစားလို့၊ အသားကိုမျှ၊ ကြောင်  
အိုပေမွေး၊ ကိုက်ပါလှေလေး။

"Big tom-cat with the stumpy tail, eat the fat of him and swallow his flesh. Old cat with the bleary eyes, come and bite him."

5. မိုးလမင်းရေ၊ ထမင်းဆီဆမ်း၊ ရွှေလင်ပန်းနှင့်ပေးပါဟော။

"O venerable moon, give me rice with oil sprinkled over it, all on a golden tray."

6. မိုးလမင်းရေ၊ ထမင်းတဆုပ်၊ ရေတမုတ်နှင့်ပေးပါဟော။

"O moon, give a handful of rice and a mug of water."

7. ရွှေလမ္ဘာယုန်ဝပ်လို့၊ ဆန်ဖွပ်တဲ့အမိုးအို၊ ဟောကြည့်ပါဆို၊ ဆိုသာ  
ဆို၊ မိုမိုတဲ့စကား။ ကလေးကိုအငိုတိတ်အောင်၊ အမိုက်ကို အရောင်ပြတယ်။  
မိုးလနတ်သား။

"In the golden moon a rabbit lying down and an old man pounding rice. Look, look, they say. But let them say. It is all nonsense. To stop my child's crying, I am only pointing out a fanciful resemblance in the shadows, oh fairy of the moon."

8. ဟီးလေပေါက်ပင်၊ ကရွန်းပင်၊ နေဝင်ခါနီး၊ ကရွန်းသီး။

This is too pretty to spoil by a literal translation. It is pointed out to the child that when the sun is near setting the blossoms of the *Kazun* close and become like fruit.

I hope to publish shortly a collection of these cradle-songs and I shall be exceedingly obliged if any reader of this Journal will point out any errors in the text or translation of the above and send me or make known by publication in the Journal any other rhymes which may have come to his notice. Any theory as to the identity of the big bleary-eyed tom-cat would also be welcome.

J. A. STEWART.

## BURMESE FOLKLORE.

### I

#### 1. Mrs. Field Mouse and Her Beautiful Daughter.

Mrs. Field Mouse gave birth to a most beautiful daughter. She, therefore, laid plans to marry her to the most powerful personage she could find. On making enquiries she found that Rain-God was considered the most powerful being, so she went to him and offered him her lovely daughter in marriage saying, "I have determined to marry my daughter to the most powerful being I can find. Folk say you are such; will you marry her?"

"It's true I am powerful," said Thaja Min, "but there is something more powerful even than I am, and that is the wind. When I bank up my clouds for rain he comes along and with his breath he dispels them. Therefore the wind is stronger than I am."

Mrs. Mouse then hurried to the wind.

"Oh Wind, than whom there is nothing more powerful. Will you marry my beautiful daughter?"

"It's true I am powerful," said wind, "but there is something even more powerful than I am and that is an ant hill, which all my blowing cannot blow down."

Mrs. Mouse hastened to Ant Hill. "Oh Ant Hill," she said, "you are surely the most powerful thing in the world. Will you marry my daughter?"

"Yes, I am powerful," said Ant Hill, "but you must know that Bull can upset me with his great horns, he therefore is more powerful than I am."

Mrs. Mouse then went to Bull. "Big Bull," she said, "who can knock down an ant hill. Surely there is no more stronger than you. Will you marry my beautiful daughter?"

But Bull replied, "Even I, powerful though I am, am not stronger than nose-rope, as, with him through my nostrils he can force me to go wherever he wishes."

Mrs. Mouse found Nose-rope and said, "Oh Nose-rope, will you marry my lovely daughter, for I wish her to marry

the most powerful being in the world, which must surely be you?" But Nose-rope sadly shook himself and replied, "Powerful though I may be, there is one more powerful, for Rat can gnaw through me and take all my strength out of me and unloose that which I tied. So surely he is stronger."

Mrs. Mouse therefore married her beautiful daughter to Mr. Rat amid great rejoicings.

## 2. The wisdom of Sir Hare (Shwe Yon.)

Tiger and Elephant gambled with their lives as the stake. Elephant lost and was very disconsolate. Hare offered to help him. "What can you do?" asked Elephant. "Don't be downhearted, Elephant!" said Hare, "with my assistance we will outwit Tiger yet! You leave it all to me!

Sir Hare then went out and called together all the beasts of the forest, Deer and Barking Deer, Jackal and Wild Dog, Squirrel and Lizard: he collected them all into herds or ordered them to run past the place where Tiger was awaiting Elephant.

As each herd ran past, Tiger called out to know why they were fleeing in such terrified haste. Following the instructions of Sir Hare, they replied, "Sir Hare is advancing through the forest to catch Tiger!"

After receiving the same answer from several herds of animals, Tiger began to get alarmed and began also to think he too had better hasten away from the coming terror. But Wild-Dog turned traitor, "Don't be afraid, Tiger. It's only Hare. Anyone can overcome a hare. Even we dogs can kill him and men kill him! Shall Big Tiger be afraid of a hare?"

"I am frightened," said Tiger.

"I will stand by you," said Wild Dog, "In proof of my fidelity let us tie our tails together, so you will know that I cannot desert you."

They tied their tails together and awaited the coming of Elephant. When he appeared Sir Hare was seated on his great head. Seeing Wild Dog and Tiger, their tails tied together, he suspected that Wild Dog had turned traitor and immediately he called out in an angry voice:—

"Well, Dog! I told you I wanted a fat young tiger! what do you mean by bringing me such an old one, with no flesh on his bones?"

Hearing this speech Tiger thought that Wild Dog had deceived him and made off as fast as he could run into the forest dragging Dog behind him. He ran so fast and so far that both he and Dog died of fatigue.

Elephant rejoiced and all the beasts praised the wisdom of Shwe Yon.

### 3. The Tiger, The Dogs and The Goats.

A Tiger once lived near some goats, and every time he got hungry he had a nice fat goat for supper. The flock of goats steadily diminished and soon Tiger saw that there would soon be no more goats for him to eat. At a little distance there lived a herd of dogs and Tiger decided that when he had eaten all the goats he would have to content himself with dog. "Old mother Dog" however guessed his intention, and calling her youngest son to her side she instructed him as follows:

"My little son, when you smell Tiger coming near, do you begin to whimper and cry, and when I ask, "Why do you cry?" you will reply, "Because I have a great longing for some Tiger meat." I will then say, "But only yesterday, I killed a Tiger and you ate of the meat"; but you must still whine and reply, "Yes! but it was such a thin old tiger! I want a fat juicy young one to-day, with lots of meat." I will then promise to go out and kill you a Tiger next morning. Don't fail, my son, as all our lives depend on you."

All the dogs approved the plan, and not long afterwards puppy-dog scented Tiger wandering about outside their encampment. He at once began to whimper and cry and his mother questioned him. "Little son, little son, why do you cry?" and he replied, "I have a great longing to eat Tiger's meat, Oh Mother."

"But, my son, only yesterday you had some of the meat of the Tiger I killed."

"Yes, but it was such a thin old Tiger," whined Puppy-dog, "I only got bones; to-day I want a fat juicy tiger with lots of meat."

"Very well, my son, go to sleep now and tomorrow I will go out and kill a nice young Tiger and you can eat as much as you want."

Tiger, meanwhile, was crouching outside and heard all this and his heart began thumping with fright. He slunk off as quietly as possible muttering to himself, "Yesterday a Tiger ! Tomorrow a Tiger ! Truly I misjudged the strength of these dogs ! I will have to move further away. It would not do to live with such powerful enemies as near neighbours."

R. A. S.

*(To be continued).*

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## LAHOO TRADITIONS\*—Continued.

BY REV. C. B. ANTISDEL, M. A., B. D.,

The terms brother and sister, rescued from the "Flood",—mentioned in the former article—are not to be taken literally. They typify man and woman. Another tradition says that the men called C'Sheh and C'Va and two women Na Bi and Na Caw came out of the gourd. These multiplied and replenished the earth. There is a tradition of the confusion of tongues. Their "Tower of Babel" was a "pagoda." Then came the dispersion of the peoples. The home of the Lahoo people at the time of the dispersion seems to have been Mung Miehn. This name the Shans give to the country of the Lahoo. The name by which the Northern Shan and we call the Lahoo is Miehn. The Chinese call the place Minning. The Lahoos call it Mver Mohn or Mver Mehn Myi Mehn—the country of Mehn. This is the Western portion of Yunnan, China. The original home of the Lahoo is not known, but it probably was to the North West, their traditions say they were three years coming to Mver Mehn Myi Mehn and that they journeyed toward the rising sun and along the Mekong. Linguistically they are related to peoples of Burma who are thought to have come from that N. W. section. Tradition says supposed agricultural advantages to the South West caused them to migrate. While in their original home, one day they went hunting. Finding a stag, they pursued. Entangled in the stag's antlers was some "naleh" grass; as the stag ran this grass dropped. The men pursuing noticed the extraordinary length of the grass, it was nine spans in length—and they reasoned that the country whence the stag came must be very fertile. So they followed the tracks of the stag until they came to the country of Mung Mehn. Finding the country unoccupied and desirable, they returned home, brought their families and kindred and settled in the rich fields. Chinese seem to have been in their original home; for the tradition states that during the three years' absence of

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\* See Vol. I Part I, p. 64.

the men who were inspecting the new lands some of their women and children were taken by the Chinese but were recovered by a stratagem. They made the Chinese drunk and got their women away while the Chinese were in that state. There seems no doubt but that Mung Mehn was once the home of the Lahoo, for Lahoos in widely separated localities have this tradition and even now Lahoos are in the country of Mung Mehn. They extend, East into French Indo-China ; South, into Siam ; West, to the Salween ; and North, Myinchas—a branch of the Lahoo—are found about Tali; in fact this place is called Mawha Chung, that is, "My-incha town."

The dispersion of the tribes was in this wise. At first all had all things in common. One party killed a stag and divided with others. The others killed a porcupine, but it being too small to be shared with all was not distributed. The first party became vexed and would not believe the explanation that the animal was small, because there were the quills much larger than the hairs of the stag, hence the porcupine must have been correspondingly larger than the stag. (It is said that the Karens and Chins have this same tradition.) Jealousies continued and separation resulted. Ninety and nine families are said to have gone South. But these figures are not to be taken literally. (For example, nine and ten ages, or generations, are frequently used when the sense is, evidently, everlasting). Thirty-three families remained. According to another tradition, the thirty-three and the ninety-nine families started southward together. At one place the thirty-three families stopped to gather mollusks and cook for dinner ; they boiled and boiled, expecting the shells to become soft. Finally they gave up hoping to make the shells soft and ate the flesh, but they had delayed long. The brethren had not waited for them ; that day they failed to overtake the advance and each succeeding day there were evidences that they were falling farther and farther behind. Finally they found that the banana plants, that had been cut by the advance party, were again sprouting and that the shells of the crabs, that the advance had eaten, had turned color. Despairing of

ever overtaking their brethren, the thirty-three tribes settled where they were. It is said that the Karens have the same story. They speak of coming into Burma through the Ava (Wa) country and of a separation from their brethren who were seemingly supposed to have, through a southern route, gotten back North. But the party left behind was left because of attempting to cook mollusks soft and gave up overtaking the advance when they saw the bananas sprouting.

The people of the ninety and nine families are also spoken of as the children of Na Hpghu and Na Va. The Lahooshi Bankio speak of them as the fathers of Na Hpghu, Na Va, Na Kaw, Na Yaw, and Na Hku. The Karens also are said to refer to "The Five Chiefs" who settled in Northern Siam, as they believe.

The Ahkas, also, have a tradition that they originally came from China and have traditions of separations because of mollusk cooking. In fact many of their traditions are quite similar to the Lahoo. (It may be desirable to publish these also some time.) The similarity of the languages of the Lahoo and Ahka is very marked. The Ahka and Red Karens are said to resemble each other in appearance, habits and characteristics.

There is a prophecy among the Lahoos that their brethren of the ninety-nine families will some day return to them and when they do will bring back the written precepts of God which the Lahoos once had. Tradition says God wrote his precepts on rice cakes and gave them to the people, but they became very hungry and ate the rice cakes. The Ahkas and Was (Karens also) have similar traditions except that the writings were on buffalo skins, but when the people were hungry these were cooked and eaten.

They, as well as the Lahoos, expect a return of lost brethren, who will not only bring back the lost writings, but will restore them to political supremacy. The Lahoos were once a free people but lacked unity, had no recognized chief, hence were easily overcome by an organized people, and became the "slaves" (a term used not only by the rulers—the Chinese and Shans—but also by themselves—the ruled).

[The Karens<sup>e</sup> are said to have had these traditions also.] God, Himself, was to appear and reinstate them supernaturally. A false leader has here and there appeared claiming to be God and urging the people to abandon the "old" and take up the "new," to obey him and when the time comes he would "manifest" himself and exert his supernatural powers, when all manner of blessings—chiefly temporal—should be heaped upon the people with no effort on their part; they would rule over their present oppressors, sickness and, of course, death, would be no more. Several of these false prophets have had a considerable following. Now the missionary is pointing them to God's Word for the "lost writings;" but they are told that supremacy is a matter of worth and ability to belong to those who fit themselves for it, that education and skill will do away with much sickness, but that eternal life is beyond the grave.

The customs, religious rites, etc., may be taken up in later articles.

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## KAREN FOLK-LORE.

### II

## THE FALL OF MAN.

BY REV. D. GILMORE, M. A.

Among the interesting facts connected with the Karens is the prevalence among them, when they first came in contact with Christian missionaries, of a number of traditional legends more or less resembling the narratives found in the early part of the book of Genesis. The existence of these legends was one of the factors which made possible the rapid success of the missionaries when they began work among the Karens 84 years ago. It is obvious that a determination of how, where and when the Karens got hold of these stories, would be likely to shed some light on the early history of the race.

I give the Karen legend of the fall of man as it appears in an encyclopædic work on the language and notions of the Karens, which Dr. Wade projected and began to carry out. Having no University to back him, he was compelled to abandon the work after printing 324 pages, which cover only a part of the first letter of the alphabet. This rare and valuable book is a veritable mine of Karen folk-lore, collected by Dr. Wade and his Karen assistants.

In the Karen version of the fall of man, Adam figures as Saw Thanè. Saw is the common prefix for the names of men. Eve appears as Naw I-u. Naw is the common prefix for the names of women, leaving I-u as her personal name, in which some have traced an etymological connection with Eva. This is a point on which we must leave the philologists to pronounce.\* The legend follows.

Our Father the Lord God spoke again. "My son and daughter both, your Father will make an orchard for you, and in that orchard there will be seven kinds of trees, bearing seven kinds of fruit. Of the seven kinds, there is one that is not good to eat. Don't eat its fruit. If you eat it, you will fall ill, you will grow old, you will die. Don't eat it. Now whatever I have made, I will give it all to you.

Behold it, and eat it. Once in seven days I will come and see you. Obey me in whatever I have commanded you. Keep my words. Don't forget me. Worship me every morning and evening."

By-and-by the Devil came and asked them, "What are you doing here?"

"Our Father the Lord God told us to stay here."

"What have you got to eat here?" the Devil asked them.

"Our Father the Lord God has provided food for us, and there is more of that food than we can eat."

The Devil asked them, "Let me see that food of yours." So the man and wife went to show him, and the Devil went with them to the orchard. They showed the Devil the fruit. "This is sweet, this is sour, this is bitter, this is puckery, this is rich, this is hot, this is salt. This one we don't know whether it is sweet or sour. Our Father the Lord God ordered us, "Don't eat the fruit of this tree. If you eat it, you will die," said he. "We don't eat it. We don't know whether it's sweet or sour."

And the Devil said, "That isn't so, my children. Your Father the Lord God doesn't wish you well. This tree is the richest and sweetest of all, richer and sweeter than all else. And not only is it rich and sweet; if you eat it you will be like gods. You can go up to the heaven, you can burrow under the ground, you can fly. Your Lord God doesn't wish you well. He doesn't give you what will be good for you. I am not like your Lord God. Your Lord God is not upright. He is envious. I am upright, I am not envious. I love you, and tell you the whole truth. Your Father the Lord God doesn't love you. He didn't tell you the whole truth. If you don't believe me, don't eat it. If you try each a fruit, you will know."

The man said, "Our Father the Lord God commanded us not to eat the fruit of this tree. We won't eat it." Having said this, he got up and went away. The woman listened to the Devil's words. They pleased her more and more, and she didn't go. The Devil deceived her in one way and another for a long time, and the woman asked the Devil, "If we eat it, can we really fly?" and the Devil

answered, "My son and daughter, it is true. I love you dearly, and I am trying to tell you."

The woman took the fruit and bit it and ate it. The Devil laughed, "This daughter of mine obeys me very well. And now I say to you, go and give this fruit to your husband. Say this to him: I have eaten this fruit. It is very rich. Say that to him. If he doesn't eat, you must trick him into eating. You have eaten; if you die, you will die alone; if you become like a god, you will become like a god alone."

The Devil said this to her, and she obeyed the Devil. As the Devil commanded her, she went to entice her husband. She enticed him in one way and another for a long time, and at last he gave in. He took the fruit from his wife's hand, and ate it. When the woman's husband had eaten the fruit, she went and told the Devil. "My husband has eaten the fruit." The Devil, on hearing it, laughed aloud. The Devil said, "So you have obeyed me. Very good, my son and daughter."

Again our elders say: To-day they ate, next morning the Lord God came to see them. They no longer followed the Lord God with songs. God came into their presence. The Lord God asked them, "I ordered you not to eat the fruit of that tree. Why have you eaten it?" They did not dare to answer the Lord God and the Lord God cursed them. "Now you have not kept my commandment. I commanded you not to eat the fruit that was not good to eat. You did not obey. You have eaten it. You will grow old, you will fall ill, you will die. When you are ill, some of you will die at one day old; some of you will die at two or three days old; some of you will die as young men and maidens; some of you will die when you have had only half a family,\* some of you will die when past child bearing; some of you will die when your hair is white; some of you will die in old age." Having cursed and commanded them thus, the Lord God went back again.

Here the legend drops into poetry, or at any rate into verse. Of this I give a line for line translation, but in the interests of accuracy have rendered it into prose.

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\* That is, six children; twelve is recognized as the normal number.

God commanded us in the beginning,  
 The Devil came to destroy ;  
 God commanded us at the first,  
 The Devil would deceive and slay  
 Naw I-u and Saw Thanè,  
 The Devil saw with dislike ;  
 Naw I-u and Saw, these two,  
 The serpent saw with displeasure.  
 The great serpent deceived Naw I-u,  
 And what did he say to her ?  
 The great serpent deceived and slew her,  
 And what kind of thing 'did he say ?  
 The great serpent took a yellow fruit,  
 And gave it to God's son and daughter to eat.  
 The great serpent took a white fruit,  
 And gave it to God's son and daughter to eat.  
 They did not keep God's commandments entirely,  
 Afterwards they were deceived and slain.  
 They did not keep God's commandments completely,  
 Afterwards they were deceived and hurt.  
 They transgressed God's commandments,  
 And God turned away from them.  
 They transgressed God's commandments,  
 And God at last turned away.  
 The legend now returns to prose.

Again our elders say : By-and-by, the child of the man and wife fell ill, and they didn't know what to do. So they two said to each other, "We haven't kept the commandment of our Father the Lord God ; we have disobeyed him. He told us not to eat the fruit of the tree, and we have eaten it. What shall we do now?" They said to each other, "The Lord God has forsaken us. We can't think what to do. Suppose we try the Devil." The man and wife talked to each other thus, and arose, and went to ask the Devil. They went to the Devil, and said to him, "See here, Devil. The Lord God told us not to eat the fruit of that tree. You told us to eat it. And we listened to you, and we ate it. Now our child has fallen ill. What have you to say? What would you advise?"



Then the Devil spoke, "Well, you have not obeyed the commandment of your Father the Lord God. You have obeyed me. Well, as you have obeyed me, obey me to the end. Then I will tell you all the customs which my father and mother followed. I will show you. You try them. And if you are not to die, you will get well. If you are to die, you will die." Having spoken thus, the Devil went and caught a pig, and showed the man and wife his way. "When my father and mother were not well, they did this with me. If they were to get well, they got well; if they were not to get well, they died."

The Devil showed them, and the man and wife noted it. Two or three days after they had made the demon feast [according to the instructions of the Devil] their child got well. After two or three days more, a child of theirs fell ill, and they did as the Devil had shown them. After they had done it, and waited a while, their sick child did n't get well, and they went and called the Devil. The Devil came to them, and asked them, "Have you done everything which I showed you?" The man and his wife answered, "Whatever you showed us we have done. He doesn't get well." The Devil answered again, "If you have done everything which I showed you, and yet he doesn't get well, I will show you something else. Go and catch a fowl, and I will show you another thing." And the man and wife rose up and went and caught a fowl, and came back with it and gave it to the Devil. And the Devil said to the man and wife, "Now I have prepared this way of calling back the spirit. Do as I do. Now I am going to call back the spirit. Follow me and I will show you." The Devil did up a bundle of chaff; he did up a bundle of potsberds, he did up a bundle of rice—three bundles. The fowl and the three bundles he stuffed into a net, and he cut a bamboo rod and split its end in four. The Devil told them to follow him, and they followed him into the jungle. He took the fowl and plucked off its feathers, and the feathers and the bundles he put in the middle of the path. When he had put them in the middle of the path, he prayed. And how did he pray? He prayed like this. "Spirit! Spirit! The spirit is gone to Hades,

The spirit is gone to Hell. Release the spirit." The Devil prayed thus. After he had thus prayed, he cooked the fowl [over a fire]. After he had cooked it he took the bones and tried them. [Whether they were soft or not.] After he had tried them, the man and wife asked him, "Is it well?" The Devil said, "I don't know. Watch the disease, whether he gets well or dies. I can't tell you yet. Watch and wait. Let me treat his case first in every possible way. If he doesn't get well, but dies, then I can tell you. If he gets well, then I can tell you. As yet he has neither got well nor died. I can't tell you yet." The Devil treated his case in every way, but he didn't get well. After a long time, he died. After he had died the Devil spoke. And what did he say? "Now this man has died. When I broke the chicken bones this time, I could n't tell you what they meant. From now on, if the chicken bones turn out like this, it is not good. Note it. I will show you how to break chicken bones and pray. Pray like this. If he does not die, let them [the bones] turn out well for me. If he dies, let them turn out not well. I will show you a charm. Repeat the charm when you are not well. How shall you repeat the charm? I will tell you. Unwind seven threads, and repeat the charm. Remember all I have shown you. Don't forget it. If you are to die, you will die, if you are to recover, you will recover." Having said this, the Devil arose and went away. And the man and wife obeyed the Devil, and taught their children from generation to generation.

The story divides itself into two parts, the first relating to the fall of man, and the second relating to the quasi-religious customs of the Karens—the demon feast, the divination by chicken bones, and the calling of the spirit. The story of the fall of man appears to be the account found in the second chapter of Genesis, modified by oral transmission among a primitive people. It goes to show that, at some time prior to 1827, the Karens had come under the influence of some Jewish or Christian people. The account of the origin of the quasi-religious customs of the Karens presents these points of interest: like some other primitive peoples,

they believed in the existence of a God, but did not worship him, they believed themselves to be alienated from him by the disobedience of their forefathers. They also believed that the customs which, though of course they were not religious, took the place of religion in the practical working of Karen life, are of the Devil.

The demon feast has been explained in the first paper of this series. Here we get the additional fact of its supposedly diabolical origin. My Karen friends assure me that, to this day, the non-Christian Karens regard this feast as morally indefensible, even though these are devotedly attached to it.

The divination by chicken bones is extensively practiced by non-Christian Karens, to determine whether the issue in any doubtful case will be favourable or otherwise,—as, for instance, whether a sick man will recover or not. The appearance of the broken bone, after the appropriate rites have been performed, is supposed to indicate a favourable or unfavourable issue, as the case may be.

The custom of calling the spirit is practiced in the hope of preventing the death of those who are ill; it is also practiced in the hope of recalling to life those who have recently died. The term "spirit" has been used to translate the Karen word *Kalà*, as being a near enough equivalent for the purpose of this paper. It must however be understood that "spirit" does not give the exact meaning of *Kalà*. In fact there is no English word which does. I suppose the Burmese နတ် is substantially equivalent to the Karen *Kalà*. If the patience of the members of this Society hold out, a future paper may deal with this subject.

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## REVIEWS.

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### CRITICAL NOTE ON MR. TAW SEIN KO'S PAPER ON "THE CHINESE ANTIQUITIES OF PAGAN."

That there should exist in Burma some traces here and there of intercourse with China is not at all surprising, considering the contiguity of the two countries; on the contrary one is astonished that there are so few. The author sets out in a very interesting manner such of them as have been discovered and admit of identification. Under what circumstances some of these found their way into the country will probably remain a mystery for ever. One can only surmise that they were brought back by the Burmese after an expedition or that they were imported by immigrant Shans. But the fascination of Mr. Taw Sein Ko's paper lies not in what it purports to be—a description of Chinese Antiquities at Pagan—but in what it hints at, that we are indebted to China for our first contact with Buddhism, as we may gather from the passage: "the Chinese symbolism found on Burmese pagodas can only be interpreted as an indelible remnant of an order of things which has passed away." Elsewhere Mr. Taw Sein Ko has often contended that the earliest introduction of Buddhism into Burma was from China, and the present seems a suitable opportunity—not to attempt a refutation (I confess I am not competent to do so) but—to initiate a discussion of this very important matter.

The Maha-yazawin of the Burmese sets out that Taphussa and Bhallika, *during the lifetime of the Buddha*, saw the great Sage in India, obtained from him eight hairs, and enshrined them in a pagoda, 27 feet high, which afterwards grew into the present Shwe Dagon. This is treated by some as legendary, but the same story is narrated in the Dhammaceti inscriptions, and is corroborated most strongly by the Pitakas themselves. (See Dr. Forchhammer's Notes on the early History and Geography of Burma. I.—The Shwe Dagon Pagoda). The *Buddha-vamsa*, the *Rajayatana-katha*, the *Anguttara Nikaya* (*Etadaggo vaggo*), and Buddhaghosa combine in giving the most convincing testimony. The learned doctor admits the possibility of an incorrect identification of Ukkala, but unhesitatingly comes to the conclusion that the Burmese account is accurate. Thus we have *a pagoda erected in Burma long before China heard of Buddhism*.

However, leaving aside this and also the story of the coming of Sona and Uttara, we have yet to consider the history of ancient Prome—Thaye-Khettaya or Yathemyo, where recent investigation has brought to light a number of pagodas and other structures. There can be no doubt that Buddhism was a flourishing religion in that part of the country before the Christian era; the 560 years eliminated from the calendar by Poppasaw Rahan must have started from about 79 A. D., and Thumondari must have proceeded on some basis,—the natural one being the Buddha year, as suggested by the Burmese chronicles. Duttabaung or Dwitabaung could not have been a myth, and if, as is probable, Indian settlers arrived in the locality prior to his reign, what is there more likely than that they brought Buddhism with them? But apart from this even, it may be accepted that Buddhism came into Burma overland through Assam and Manipura. There may be some slight foundation for the Burmese account of the coming of Dhajaraja to Tagaung owing to the destruction of the Sakya Kingdom by Vitadupa or Vidudabha (cf. Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*). The latter event took place a year or two before the death of Buddha, and his doctrines may have been imported by the fugitives. At that time there was no such thing as *Northern* Buddhism. Although some may still doubt this and support the theory that Mahayanism did find its way into Burma, I do not think that anyone can believe that it came from China.

Let us see what was the case with China itself. From Professor Giles' History of Chinese Literature we gather that in B. C. 217 Buddhist priests went to that country but were thrown into prison. It was not till A. D. 67 that Buddhism acquired a foothold. The travels of Fa Hsien (A. D. 399) and Hsüan Tsang (629) added much to Buddhist lore in China but the most noteworthy event in the history of Chinese Buddhism was the visit in 520 of Bodhidharma, who discouraged book-learning in the monasteries and was responsible for many subsequent absurdities. What followed is not easy to trace clearly. Arriving so late, tainted by the Mahayana inventions of Nepal and Tibet, and contending with indigenous crudities, Chinese Buddhism soon became "*sui generis*" and "without a qualifying adjective it can scarcely be said to be Buddhism at all." The author of "From Peking to Mandalay," who in the course of his itinerary visited Mount Omei, writes: "What with the growth of mystic schools derived from Bodhidharma, the Tantra schools with their magic spells and incantations, the Lin Tsu school that teaches religion in

the form of enigmas, the Wu Wei school with its doctrine of a Golden Mother, the hideous demonology introduced into Buddhism by a debased wonder-working Taoism, and the innumerable schools that unite in their praises of the bejewelled Western Heaven which can be attained merely by repeating the name of Amitabha Buddha or Kuan Yin P'u Sa, it is no wonder that Buddhism in China has fallen a victim to the fangs of its own grotesque offspring." If, then, "Buddhist influences from China affected Pagan even before the Mongol conquest,"—as put by Mr. Taw Sein Ko—where are their traces? We cannot judge merely from a few architectural peculiarities; they may well have been the work of prisoners of war just as in the case of captives from Thaton. We seek in vain for vestiges of the worship of "Dhyani Buddhas" or of a belief in Sukhavati, such as have always been preached by Northern votaries. Moreover it should not be forgotten that there was no direct contact between Burma and China before the 13th century, as Yunnan was not conquered till then. And in the 9th century, according to a Chinese writer from whom Parker quotes, Buddhism in Burma was much the same as what it is to-day, entirely different from Northern conceptions.

We now come to the Mongol or Tartar invasion of 1284 by Kublai Khan. What reliable evidence is there that the conqueror reached Pagan? Marco Polo is vague, Parker doubts whether the invaders ever got beyond Tagaung (Old Pagan), and Phayre, confusing the two places, may well be wrong in this as in many other respects. The 'Grand Khan' is said to have been a Buddhist, but, if so, he was a unique one; he sacrificed sheep and oxen, and poured libations of liquor. Marco Polo tells us that in the China of that period there were extensive monasteries and abbeys inhabited by monks. "These are clad in a better style of dress than the other inhabitants; they shave their heads and their beards, and celebrate the festivals of their idols with the utmost possible solemnity, having bands of vocal music and burning tapers. *Some of this class are allowed to take wives.* There is likewise another religious order the members of which are named 'sensim' who observe strict abstinence and lead very austere lives, having no other food than a kind of pollard, which they steep in warm water until the farinaceous part is separated from the bran, and in that state they eat it. *This sect pay adoration to fire,* and are considered by the others as schismatics, not worshipping idols as they do." Can we then believe that Kublai Khan's invasion and very brief stay did anything

for Burmese Buddhism and that "the intercourse thus forcibly opened up between China and Burma was undoubtedly followed by an active Buddhist propaganda?" Two centuries before he appeared on the scene Anawrata had brought the scriptures from Thaton to Pagan, and under him and his successors the innumerable pagodas of that city arose. The art of building them came from the Talaings, and "Chinese symbolism" had nothing to do with it. And may it not be asked, if our pagodas are modelled on the "speculative symbolism" of the Chinese, where are *their* pagodas built on the same plan?

If one were to place faith in the author's enthusiastic declaration contained in his last sentence, Buddhism should have declined rather than prospered after the Mongol cataclysm; but the very fact that Kublai Khan's fugitive opponent is ridiculed in history as the Talok-pye-min shows the contempt of a manly race for a coward, while the military prowess of Alompra and the administrative genius of Bodawpaya are scarcely examples of paralysed effort.

M. O.

(*Postscript.*—In the Archaeological Survey Report for 1911, Mr. Taw Sein Ko gives a comparative list of sixteen Buddhist terms used by the Burmese which bear a close similarity to Chinese words for the same objects. Of these သံသယဝိဇ္ဇာ and ရတနံ seem to me to have come direct from the Sanskrit, and နိဗ္ဗာန် from Pali. But, argues he, the Buddhist scriptures may be said from this to have been written in Sanskrit when first introduced, and Sanskrit is the language of the Northern school. Even to-day we have Burman Buddhist monks who are Sanskrit scholars, and it is more than probable that early Sanskrit works on unalloyed Buddhism came into Burma from India just as works on law, medicine and astrology did,—thus corrupting the pure Burmo-Pali orthography. At least, the occurrence of Sanskritic spelling does not prove that Buddhism came from China. And such words—very few—as are similar in the Burmese and Chinese languages may have a common origin.—M. O.)

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### DR. ROSS AND MOTHER KIN.\*

The courteous controversialist has made terms with Nemesis. Otherwise for really a great deal of Dr. Ross' paper strikes me as hardly fair criticism. He knocks down ninepins with considerable energy; but then he has put

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\* See Vol. I, Part I, p. 15 ff. and p. 103 ff.

them up himself. If you adjust your ninepins carefully they may the more easily be knocked down : this may be part of that simplicity of nature, which he announces, somewhat to my surprise, as an inherent principle of things. But to me it savours more of the simplicity of art.

Let me hasten however to associate myself with one of his objections. Matriarchy is an unfortunate term, the word undoubtedly implies gynaeocracy, in its scientific use it implies nothing of the kind. But then, as he points out, I carefully indicated the difference. He admits the existence of a system of inheritance through mother only and by daughter alone. This is the condition of affairs which I contended had existed at a comparatively recent date in Burma. In accordance with established usage I called it matriarchal ; he demurs to the word and calls it "matriarchal." There is great virtue in inverted commas, they might easily be the saving of a libel case. But used merely as diacritical marks they are out of place. If he will supply me with some readily understood equivalent for *matriarchal* I will use it, but I cannot see that much is gained by adding goose feet to give it an esoteric significance.

Whiles I am in the way with him let me also point out that there is nothing in my paper to conflict with his suggestion that a matriarchal organisation is one expedient of evolution for maintaining the identity of the family. Certain features of social organisation I characterised as matriarchal, and then in the light of this examined some incidents of Burma history and custom. With the origin and evolutionary value of matriarchy I was not concerned.

The point concerning the Khasis is of little value. The relation between race and social organisation is a matter on which no definite pronouncement can be made until we know much more than at present concerning the comparative influence of heredity and environment, and the modification thereof in the case of man. So long as, and so far as any moral quality, for instance, courage, can be regarded as a race characteristic, there seems insufficient reason for not regarding other moral qualities as also bound up with race.

The remainder of the matter in the essay he rules out summarily with the statement that he does "not think they tend to establish the existence a matriarchate." I cite the remarriage of so many queens, which I can not regard as due to the intrinsic charms of the ladies, the preference for the female line in the transmission of a *myo-thugyiship*, the exclusion of the agnatic kin, both in speech and practice, and the prevalence of goddesses in the "indigenous Pantheon." If you wander blindly through past centuries you can



re-construct them as you will but this is not the way to become a trustworthy guide. Unless he supplies me with some reasoned explanation of these facts Dr. Ross can hardly expect me to remain content with such a summary and dogmatic dismissal.

When he passes on however to take objection to the "serious confusion of identifying the "matriarchate" with a state sexual communism, I can only assert that I did not confuse them. Briefly my argument is as follows. Among primitive men the relations were very much in the nature of free intercourse, the female was the only recognised bond of blood. (It is however worth noticing that at one time freedom of intercourse may well have marked a definite advance in civilisation). Civilisation consisted in the development of property and power. For the transmission of these various expedients were evolved. Under certain circumstances the female became the medium of transmission; such a civilisation is known as a matriarchate. Some of the characteristics of a state where the female is the only bond of blood are less dangerous to a civilisation where the female is the medium for transmitting property than to one where property is transmitted through the male. Where therefore relics of communism are strong, and in proportion to their strength, it is advisable to look for other evidence of matriarchal features. When other matriarchal features are found it is advisable to look for traces of sexual communism. Where both communal and other features are found one is confirmatory of the other. It was purely as such confirmatory evidence that I examined these traces in Burma, and I can not but think that their existence strengthens the other evidence. This is merely an application of that principle of intellectual economy to which I appealed at the outset of my essay.

But if exception may be taken to Dr. Ross' allegation of serious confusion, it may with even greater force be taken to his examples. Dr. Ross quotes Dr. Frazer as to the compatibility of sexual communism with inheritance through the father. Here is the reference. "In latter times father kin had certainly displaced mother kin—Yet the older custom (i. e. mother kin) lingered on in Lycia down to the historical period, and we may conjecture that in former times it was widely spread through Asia Minor—and even among the Semites of antiquity, though father kin finally prevailed in matters of descent and property, traces of an elder system of mother kin with its looser sexual relations appear to have long survived in the sphere of religion." His other quotation is equally unfortunate. But as these

instances are only brought forward to demolish a position which I have never assumed, detailed consideration of all of them is unnecessary. Re-reading my paper in the light of Dr. Ross' remarks I can not but regard the confusion as one of his creating. Possibly it arose from his not having the paper before him in print, and it exists, I trust, no longer. It may be well however to give one instance showing how the confusion has arisen.

"In any case," he says, "none of these interesting facts connected with the royal succession in Burma point to the early existence of a state of promiscuity in Burma society." Here is the confusion of which he complains. But it is not to be found in the paper which he criticises. I point out that certain facts relating to royal succession in Burma render it probable that the political organisation was at one time matriarchal, and I point out that the survival of certain marriage customs renders it probable that the political organisation was at one time matriarchal. But I do not suggest that the fact of the royal succession renders it probable that such marriage customs will be found, nor even the more complicated sequence that the state of society in which such customs may have originated will be found. Had I done so he might justly have complained of the serious confusion. But it is left for Dr. Ross to suggest and deny in a single sentence that the former pointed to the latter.

Before leaving the subject it may be well to notice some further evidence which has come to my notice. In my former paper I regarded the connection between Nawrata and the abolition of archaic customs as apocryphal. But it has been brought to my notice that the feud between Nawrata and his brother and predecessor, Sokkade, originated in the marriage of the latter with Nawrata's mother. It may well have been that on this, as on so many other occasions, Sokkade's possession of the queen strengthened his title to the throne, and Nawrata would naturally therefore figure as the protagonist of the new ideas in their conflict with the old.

In another instance also I appear to have understated my case. Marriage between residents of the same village I took to be the rule. This however is doubtful. In the course of a chance enquiry, not connected with the present subject, I ascertained that in an old established Upper Burma village, out of 27 occupants of land, no less than 18 had been born elsewhere, while of these 8 had only acquired their status by marriage with a woman of the village. Such a limited enquiry affords insufficient basis for a broad generalisation, but it at least suggests that inheritance through the female

only is much more common at the present day than is generally suspected.

All this is only circumstantial evidence not differing essentially from that brought forward in my previous paper, merely material for deduction. But on the strength of the evidence I then adduced I surmised that matriarchal succession would be found in the case of myothugyiships. Proof of this came to my hands before the paper was read to this Society. The following is an extract from a decision in a Village Proceeding by Mr. Parlett, then Deputy Commissioner of Myingyan, in the year 1900.

"The thugyiship went in the female line. The first thugyima, Ma Daung, is said to have had three sons, Tha In, Tha Myat and Tha Su, *who did not become thugyi, nor succeed to a part of the land and trees*; but her daughter Ma Min succeeded to both, and her *only child* (note, no daughters to succeed) San Bon after her. Mg San Bon had two daughters, Ma Hmat San and Ma Pyu Gale, of whom the latter married Mg Shwe Hmya, who became thugyi, and succeeded to the land and trees; Ma Pyu Gale had sons and daughters, but the son Mg Ya Po became thugyi and held the land and trees. It was only after the annexation that his brothers and sisters enjoyed shares." (i)

This instance is particularly interesting as it illustrates the descent of not only power but property, through the female line in preference to the male. It is unfortunately not clear as to why the son should have been preferred at the latest devolution.

This then is the position of the case. I produced evidence which to me seemed to justify the conclusion that Burma Society had been characterised by a matriarchal organisation at a comparatively recent date. So strong did the evidence appear that it led me to predict that traces of the devolution of power on matriarchal lines would still be found if the evidence were analysed. Within a month or two of making this prediction it was verified. Confirmation so convincing, readily forthcoming, goes far to demonstrate the justness of my conclusion.

But there is a further difference between Dr. Ross and myself as to the practical effect of such an organisation on present-day social life. I might quote the authority of Dr. Frazer in support of my conclusion that the absence of a strong patriarchal bias tends to raise the social status of the female sex. But it is a proposition which hardly requires

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(i). I am indebted to Mr. J. L. McCallum, C. S. for reference to what appears to have been a similar mode of succession in the Pakokku District, but have as yet been unable to obtain full particulars.

to be strengthened by authority. Dr. Ross is a bold man. He does not apparently deny the political inferiority of women in a patriarchal civilisation ; it would be difficult to deny it. I suggest that this is due to their civic position. Where these civic disabilities are removed I am prepared to see them enjoying the benefit of their superior social status. This he seems to regard with some surprise, reckoning women as naturally of a lower order of intelligence and morality than men. This was the heresy of Abdullah the Adite. And it cost him his beard and eyebrows. The inherent inferiority of woman may easily prove a more uncomfortable heresy than that of the inherent simplicity of nature. Certainly Dr. Ross is a bold man.

J. S. F.

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### THE LIFE OF JUDSON IN BURMESE.

The Life of Adoniram Judson is a record of the self-sacrificing labours of a man, who must hold a high place among the missionaries of America. His life is of peculiar interest to Burmans, to whom he first gave the Glad Tidings. It is therefore a fitting tribute to his memory that his Life in Burmese should be written by a Burman.

The biography written by his son, Edward Judson, forms the basis of a translation into Burmese by U Po Hla, Extra Assistant Commissioner. This translation has the merit of giving a full detailed account of the doings of Judson to those who, through ignorance of English, are debarred from informing themselves from other sources. It found a hearty reception at the hands of those in whose minds the memory of Judson is still quite fresh.

It having been written by a Burman, one would expect to find the book written in that easy, flowing style, which conveys the thoughts of the writer in simple, yet expressive words. Such a style would commend the book as well to the reading public as to the polished reader. The charm of a good Burmese style lies not, as many think, in the wholesale use of high-sounding words of Pali origin but in the habitual use of those homely words and phrases, which it is the pride of the Burmese people to possess. The great point is to make the meaning as clear as possible. True, words of Pali origin are by no means to be dispensed with. Burmese words owe too much to Pali to do that. Still, one could frame sentences making a judicious use of these hybrid words. Moreover, the use of these words lends gravity to the style ; and they are in their proper place

when the writer treats of such grave subjects as religion and philosophy. But in a simple narrative a greater effect is gained, we think, by the habitual use of pure Burmese words.

The book under review rather falls short of these expectations. It is written in a style which is neither grave nor light. There are pages which read easy enough, but there are those which too plainly betray the author's laboured attempts at what may be called "Johnsonian Burmese." The mannerism does not sit easy on the mannerist; his very efforts make him falter at many places. A more judicious use of such hybrids as *သိက္ခာသေဝ်* (p. 44) would have given much pathos to the narrative, which certainly wants a sympathetic touch.

It is difficult to imagine a Burmese writer at fault in the use of two such little words as *လော* and *လော့*. Surely the difference is great between the interrogatory particle *လော* and the imperative particle *လော့*. Yet we find our author using *လော့* for *လော* in so many places as to preclude the idea of finding an excuse in misprints. The mistake is made three times on p. 17, twice on p. 18, and once each on pp. 32, 34, 55 and 77. Then, the glaring mistakes in the spelling of many Pali terms, which are used rather abundantly, are not calculated to leave the reader in a very pleasant mood. A few of these mistakes will suffice:—*လော* (pp. 14, 64); *သိက္ခာ* (p. 77); *လော* (p. 188). And again, the most superficial reader will at once be struck by the careless haste with which the work has been gone through, as evidenced by the number of misprints which blemish almost every page, besides those mistakes which are checked by the long list of *corrigenda* at the end of the book.

M. T.

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### "PANCH SILA."\*

One more book on Buddhism, that is, the five cardinal precepts of Buddhism,—by another European and introduced by one who was Christian by birth. The learned Bhikkhu Silacara is known in this country and has in fact acquired a European reputation by his translation of Dahlke's Essays and by a lucid interpretation of many an interesting sermon comprised in the difficult Majjhima Nikaya. It is a great pity that this solid little work should again have to be indebted to the Theosophists for its publication. I see no necessity to transfer to the columns of this

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\* Rangoon Gazette.

paper in Burma the campaign which is carried on against the propaganda of this society in India. Whatever may be the merits of the hypothesis of the doctrine of metempsychosis, it was impudent effrontery on the part of the Theosophists to have declared, as they recently did, that a certain Madras who died recently was an incarnation of the uncle of the founder of Zoroastrianism. Genuine Pali Buddhism has as much to fear from the insidious ways of this plausible system of eclectic ethics as the religion of at least ancient Persia has already suffered. "Every Buddhist child who goes to a missionary school is a shame and disgrace to the Buddhist community," says Mr. Leadbeater in his introduction. Every opportunity, it cannot be too widely known, that is given to the formation of this unholy alliance between orthodox Pali Buddhism and the cheap charlatanism of a body of preachers who have no faith to lose, will be held by every honest student of historical research a shame to the wealthy Burman who glories in the name of Buddhist. The one feature which distinguishes Pali Buddhism from all off-shoots and collateral branches of the faith is the theory of soullessness. Deprived of that cardinal article of faith Pali Buddhism is scarcely distinguishable from shapeless Hinduism. That the Theosophists regard the spirit of Burmese Buddhism as alien to the teachings of the Master is no secret. It was not long ago that in the Theosophical Quarterly, the accredited organ of the society, the Southern Buddhism was stigmatised as "rather a travesty of the Buddha's religion than a true presentation of it." It must be left to the believing Burmans who can afford it to support and subsidise the evangelical efforts of learned Bhikkhus and prevent the formation of this unnatural union between their ancient historical religion and the unproved fantasy of opulent and tenacious amateurs.

The book is an exposition of the five cardinal virtues inculcated by Buddhism and perhaps after all it is a mercy that under the influence of the publishers there is only one precept of which the Bhikkhu has exceeded the commandment as expressed in its original spirit and letter of the Buddha. The doctrine of non-injury to animals may be fascinating in itself and there is no doubt that the teachings of the Buddha comprised loving-kindness to all; but from that to deduce that the Buddha positively forbade animal food is to do violence to the scriptures. The Buddha himself never objected to flesh food, and one of the most ancient suttas informs us that his last earthly meal consisted of tender pork. The Amagandha Sutta lays down in as many words that flesh eating is no sin and the same theme

is the burden of the *Jivakasutta*. I have elsewhere collected a number of canonical passages which prove that animal food is nowhere interdicted but most unquestionably allowed by Buddhism. Perhaps the strongest evidence is furnished by the admitted fact that a relation of the Buddha's suggested that meat diet should be prohibited to the followers of the Buddha in order to draw larger masses of the people who rarely appreciate simplicity in dogma or ritual or conduct of life to the new doctrine and discipline of Buddhism; and no one has challenged the fact that the Buddha most emphatically declined to accept the suggestion. In the history of Buddhism flesh-eating by the Buddhists has been through all ages regarded as the one vulnerable point by their inveterate opponents, namely the Brahmans and especially the Jainas. Properly considered the Buddha's broad-mindedness in respect of animal food is only an exemplification of his principle of the golden mean. The Buddha's path is the middle path. He avoids all extremes. You must not kill an animal for food, but if it is killed and not especially for you there is no harm in eating it. This is the position of the Buddhist. To what impracticable extravagance one is likely to be carried if the doctrine of non injury to animals is strictly adhered to is illustrated by the incredible conduct of the Jainas. A King of Gujarat in the 12th century published an edict by which all animal life was held sacred. Under the spiritual guidance of his Jain adviser, Hemachandra, he confiscated the entire property of a rich merchant who was reported to have cracked a louse! The property under attachment went to the erection of a spacious religious edifice famous as the Yukavihara; and another man was actually sent to the gallows because of his alleged cruelty to animals. Those neo-Buddhists who would make the enjoyment of animal food to the Buddhists a sin must expunge at least some twenty passages from their holy writ.

I notice that in one other respect the Bikkhu has not considered the spirit of the Tipitaka *as a whole*. "At no time, not even once did He ever allude to the message He was publishing abroad as a *creed*, a *ditthi*." This is not quite accurate when we consider that the common expression *sama-ditthi* implies that the Buddha had a *ditthi* or view which he considered to be *the right* one as against the numerous false ones obtaining in his age. But apart from that, the Buddha does speak of a *ditthi* or creed of his own. I refer to the beginning of the Attahana-vagga of the Anguttaranikaya which does not seem to have been sufficiently investigated. The meaning is plain and the passage

fortunately does not lend itself to sophistic glosses : " Atthamnam etam bhikkhave anavakaso yam ditthi-sampanno pugalo kanci sankhara niccato upagaccheyya."

" And the way He teaches is the same way that He Himself follows." Is there not a little oversight here ? Is it not a fact that the Buddha wasted long weary years over fruitless penances which he had the uncommon moral vigour subsequently to denounce ?

To suggest that the land of Burma " is amply blessed with abundant rains and bountiful harvest, drought and famine being almost things unknown " because of the " practice of liberality on the part of the Burmans " is a piece of clap-trap which should not have found place in the body of a book weighted with solid thought. Burma has not yet suffered from the desiccation and the want of rains which made themselves a perpetual evil to the most fervent Buddhist believers in India as the Pali books can themselves testify. And charity is a practical religious duty of both Hindu and Moslem. Throughout the little book there are constant asides at Christian missionaries which might as well have been omitted from pages inspired by convinced faith and studious learning. It is difficult to see how Christianity can be reasonably saddled with the vice of drink merely because none of the ten commandments directly prohibits intoxication. Is there any direct embargo laid on polygamy or even polyandry as an institution in Buddhism ? And because the latter practice is not specifically discouraged, does it follow that Buddhism is responsible for promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, the sale of virgins in open market in ancient Taxila, the renowned seat of Orthodox Buddhist learning in the past, and the polyandry of the Tibetans of the present ? At the core of early Buddhism there is a vital principle of truth which in spite of the conflicting Buddhist doctrine of utter impermanence of everything will abide for all time. Why try to bring it in line with the latest phase of our changing views ? If the process of torturing the texts is continued who knows but that the next generation of neo-Buddhists may have to pour yet newer wine into the old bottles and read into the Pitakas notions of which they are innocent and which an unbroken line of devout exegetes for over two thousands years have had no dream of. The result will give us Buddhism popular, up to date, fashionable, in keeping with the latest scientific invention, only not in accord with those stubborn palm-leaves which the West presumes to interpret without the sublime esoterism, the divine privilege of the Mahatmas



whom your Waddells and Younghusbands had not the eye to discover in Tibet.

N.

### “SHWE NAT-TAUNG THAMAING.”

This is a very interesting publication, recently issued by the *SUN* Press under the able editorship of Saya Lun. It gives the legendary account of the founding of the city of Kañcanagiri (modern Shwedaung, in the Prome District) by Thuratapa, son of Issima, who reigned at Kuthavati in the country of the Mallas, and the erection of the Shwe-Nat-taung pagoda, the scene of a great annual festival in the month of Tabaung. Stripped of all exaggerations, the story resolves itself into an account of an arrival of Indian settlers at some time prior to the founding of Thaye-khettaya (ancient Prome); these probably became merged in the Pyu and Kanyan tribes who preceded them. The latter are stated to have migrated from the Shan kingdoms of Thawana and Allakappa respectively, and the supposed derivations of the word “Pyu” and “Kanyan” are, if nothing else, ingenious. The first is said to be derived from ပု a habit of its chiefs of becoming hermits on arriving at a certain age (ရပ်ဆိုင်း). The Kanyans settled on the west bank (တစ်ဖက်) of the Irrawaddy, and hence their name. There is also given a hitherto unnoticed derivation of the name by which the Burmese call themselves colloquially—ဗမာ. This is said to come from ပမာရ—*pamakkhara*, from an expression, “*pamakkhara kula*,” said to have been ejaculated by King Issima on hearing of the fortunes of his son in the new country. The word may mean “as if inexhaustible;” the good king received many costly presents. It is noteworthy that the name (with the meaning “Burmese”) occurs in two Pali passages quoted from the *Zagaru thaik*; the first refers to the taking of Ava by the Talaings in 1113 B. E., and the second to the rise of Alaungpaya in the following year.

With regard to the pagoda, which is a hollow one (ခုခံ) containing a large image, Dr. Führer writes (1804):—“According to an inscribed stone slab, standing in the courtyard of the shrine, it was erected in B. E. 953, or A.D. 1570, by Tabengzedi, a king of Taungngu, who had conquered Prome.” This requires investigation, because the Burmese chronicles give 912 as the date of Tabeng-Shwehti's death.\*

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\* I have spoken to Saya Lun about Dr. Führer's statement, which is contained in the Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey

In the work under review, it is stated that Tabeng-Shwehti repaired and re-gilded the pagoda, but that it was originally built before the time of Duttabauug, by whom it was enlarged. It is also stated that Anawrahta and his twelve successors at Pagan kept up the yearly festival.

It may well be that research in this direction will throw more light on the history of ancient Prome.

M. O.

## CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN BURMA.

BY THE REV. W. C. B. PURSER, M. A., (S. P. G.)

The title of Mr. Purser's book "Christian Missions in Burma" is completely misleading. The name suggested by Bishop Knight in the Preface "Churchman's Handbook of Burma" is a far closer clue to the contents. A pretentious title is always an encumbrance, and were we to judge Mr. Purser's work by what it pretends to be, we would have at the start to chronicle a catalogue of omissions longer than the present book. A quotation from the index will be sufficient to indicate the vast extent of the omissions in the account of "Christian Missions" in Burma. One entry (p. 243) is as follows "Baptist Mission, American, 40, 95, 118; Statistics of, 104." Four pages to the A. B. M! On page 95, there begins a chapter on Baptist Missions in Burma which although containing a sympathetic account of Dr. Judson is ludicrously inadequate as a reflection of the work that Baptist Missionaries have done and are doing in Burma. The account of Roman Catholic Missions is similarly scamped. The book is so wholly sectarian in tone that its title should also be sectarian.

In his first chapter on Burma and the Burmese, Mr. Purser has attempted to crowd too much into too small a space with the result that his accuracy and coherence have suffered. Apart from the extraordinary mistake of making Burmese women wear the *paso* (p. 15,) there are passages

Circle, North-Western Provinces and Oude, for the year ending the 30th June, 1894. Saya Lun is a native of Shwedaung, and before writing his book consulted many people living there, including a monk of 60 years' standing. No one knows of any inscribed slab having existed at any time at or near the pagoda. The period of Dr. Führer's visit to Burma (the cold weather of 1893-94) coincides with the time at which the Shwe-nat-taung pagoda was almost entirely rebuilt under the supervision of the late U Shaung, Extra Assistant Commissioner, and raised to its present height of 55 cubits or 82½ feet; it was never 120 feet, as stated by Dr. Führer. From his detailed description, one would imagine that he visited the spot.

where the reasoning is hard to follow, as the result of too much condensation. The tone of the chapter is not over-sympathetic. Burmese marriage is called "concubinage," an ugly if technically correct term. Burmese medicine is unjustly derided. No doubt some of the methods adopted are highly injurious, as, for example, the treatment of ophthalmia, but as herbalists, and masseurs the Burmans excel, and as Mr. David Wilson remarked in an article recently published in the local papers, it is a great mistake to adopt a completely contemptuous attitude towards Burmese medicine. Another stereotyped position taken by Mr. Purser is to bewail the lessening respect shown by the young to the old. No doubt Mr. Purser's laments are well founded, but, in what country on earth has the same thing not occurred? The present writer does not mean to imply that it is merely a parrot cry like that of the good old times, for he believes that the more educated will always have less reverence for the less educated even although the latter happen to be the former's elders. Education, like everything else that matters, will always break down the artificial barriers of traditional reverence. No—the present writer merely wishes to point out that Burma is not a strange nation inhabited by strange men. He wishes to emphasise the fact that there are certain ideas that are world-wide and are held by men by virtue of the fact that they are men, that they belong to the *genus homo* not by virtue of the fact that they are Englishmen or Burmans. It is in this humanity, this broad outlook on the whole of the world and not merely on part of it, that Mr. Purser is deficient. Take his treatment of Buddhism. The present writer, with the tenacity, perhaps, of inexperience, as philosophical Buddhists will say, is perfectly prepared to agree with Mr. Purser's view of Buddhism. It is, of course, easy for Buddhist scholars like Ananda Meteyya, Shwe Zan Aung and Mg. May Oung to read two-thousand years' development and unravelling of a difficulty into the original statement of that difficulty. The difficulties that confront man have changed no more in the course of two thousand years than the songs of the birds. It is the lines on which such difficulties have been developed that are altered. There is a Chinese proverb which says that every man born into this world resembles the spirit of his age more closely than he resembles his parents, and, in spite of all scientific determination to be impartial, it is impossible to antedate one's birth. It is only natural that we should read the ideas of our own times into all antiquity. Apart, therefore, from those scholars, to whom Buddhism is the groundwork for a

highly modern philosophy, Buddhism, as a religion, is for ninety per cent of the people of Burma, pure Animism. It is not, therefore, to Mr. Purser's statement of fact that the writer objects: it is to Mr. Purser's contemptuous attitude towards animism that he takes exception. Animism is the universal religion of the uneducated world, East and West. By calling a *nat* a saint you do not make him any less of a *nat*. Animism is not merely the false belief of an ignorant, superstitious Burma. It is the false belief of all ignorance and all superstition throughout the world. Christianity on the continent, in England and in America, gives an honoured disguise to far more animists than those whom Buddhism white-washes in Burma. Remembering this it is always more generous to sympathise with ignorance and superstition rather than take the "pat-your-head-from-the-heights" line towards them.

Apart, however, from the unfortunate title and a breadth of outlook, which, after all, is perhaps more desirable in an outsider than in a successful proselytiser, Mr. Purser's book gives an adequate and interesting account of the English Church in Burma from the point of view with which it was written. His just and dignified attitude towards Europeans might well be imitated by the writer who speaks in a recent Diocesan Magazine, in the true fashion of fourth-form abuse, of "bloated officials." The book has been written in haste—the repetitions and inaccuracies bear witness to that—but that it is interesting the fact that it has moved the present writer to quarrel with it is sufficient proof. No one who is interested in Burma and the English Church can afford to omit it from his bookshelf. The book is illustrated by some excellent photographs. The groups, however, are not as successful as the others.

A. D. K.

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## A YEAR ON THE IRRAWADDY.

BY E. M. P.-B.

MYLES STANDISH & CO., LTD. (2/8)

Mrs. Powell-Brown's book is perfectly delightful. To anyone who has travelled up the Irrawaddy to Nyaung-U by a slow-going boat, not by those "Imperial bounders" that carry the mail, almost every page must bring vividly to the mind long, lazy days, the kaleidoscopic village life, the inexplicable charm of Burma's high water-way. Occasionally, too, the gaiety is rather forced. But the author has

succeeded in doing what only Sir George Scott has done—and that not recently,—she has imparted an atmosphere. On the whole, despite signs of occasional labour and attempts at bright writing, the book is a complete and enviable success. Those who fail to read “A year on the Irrawaddy” will not only miss a book charming in itself but one which makes the nearest approach to true literature that has been made by a book on Burma for many a long day. It would be easy for a meticulous critic to pick holes here and there, but it is only Philistines who seek for blemishes in a work of art. This is high praise, but to the mind of the writer, Mrs. Powell-Brown's book has, despite its defects, that indefinable something which forms the dividing line between literature and mere writing.

A. D. K.

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### COMPENDIUM OF PHILOSOPHY.\*

It was natural that the translation of the *Compendium of Philosophy*, practically the first attempt to present a Buddhist philosophical work to English readers, should have been loudly acclaimed in Buddhist circles, and a eulogistic notice announcing the achievement appeared in the last number of this Journal. But probably the general public will be pleased to have an account of the book in which it is not looked upon from the point of view of religious partisanship, and in which the value of its contents is discussed and not assumed.

We hear much at present (though not in Burma certainly) of the message of Buddhism for the modern mind and its tenability by thinking men. Now is an occasion for testing these claims and making up our minds whether we have here put into our hands the clue of the labyrinth, or have only stumbled on another mare's nest.

In criticizing a work like this,—a translation of a compendium of a philosophical system—at least three different enquiries are called for: (1) into the value of the book as a scientific or literary work, (2) into the value of the doctrines it epitomises and: (3) into the amount of the success which the translator has attained in presenting the work in English.

To begin with the first of the three problems, we may ask, what value this work has over and above being a com-

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\* Being a translation now made for the first time from the original Pali of the *Abhidhammattha-Sangaha*, with introductory essay and notes by Shwe Zan Aung, B. A., revised and edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids, M. A.

pendium. As a compendium it may be both concise and exhaustive; only those whose knowledge of the Abhidhamma is profound can tell us. But we hear that for probably eight centuries it has served as a primer of psychology and philosophy in Ceylon and Burma! Unfortunate students who have had to get it up! It may be safely said that no worse primer was ever employed in any school or university. The doctrines which it epitomises *may* be reasoned arguments and move from point to point in systematic fashion. But of such a movement of thought there is no trace in the *Compendium*. Intellectually the Buddhist philosophy has been eviscerated in this work. In fact there is no flesh left on the frame at all; we have only a skeleton remaining. The book is not, in any sense, an *outline*, in which the doctrine moves from one salient point to another, omitting side-issues and perhaps the details of even fundamental investigations. We have only list after list, with the items carefully numbered, of real or imaginary mental functions, which have not received a definition such as would satisfy one even at the threshold of science. Mrs. Rhys Davids admits that "the curt dry method of the *Compendium*" is "not calculated to attract." That is a very mild criticism; a study of it as a primer is calculated to discourage the proper exercise of thought and to overload the memory with masses of detail. The existence of such a work suggests to us that study in the Buddhist schools was "cramming" of the most pernicious kind. The fact that it was prized so highly explains the dead weight of tradition which reformers have to remove before they can persuade the East to adopt sane educational methods.

To come to our second question, we should point out that the reader who finds a doctrine presented in a congested and repulsive form will naturally be prejudiced against the doctrine itself. It would have been more to the purpose if U Shwe Zan Aung had started with the work he is now said to be translating, if, as we have still to learn, it, the *Kathavatthu*, really does contain solid argument and luminous exposition. But the translator has to some extent compensated for the unattractive form of his text by prefacing to it an introductory essay in which he has expanded his article on "The Processes of thought," which originally appeared in *Buddhism*. This gives us an idea of the main psychological and metaphysical doctrines of Buddhism together with some hints of arguments by which a modern Buddhist would defend them.

It should be noted by the way that logical doctrine is notably absent from this work. In fact early Buddhism

seems to have been innocent of both a theoretical and a practical knowledge of logic, if we may judge by the fact that such writers as Nāgasena (quoted on p. 50) seem to accept as proof argument by analogy, which already at the beginning of the history of western logic was seen to be highly fallacious.

To come to the chief Buddhist doctrines, let us consider the question of Personal Identity, on which some light is thrown in the introductory essay. The Buddhist denial of Personal Identity seems to rest on a thorough-going confusion between a logical contrary and contradictory. Because at any moment the mind is different from what it was the moment before, *it cannot be the same mind*. This is the assumption underlying all the arguments here presented. Take the most ingenious of all:—"If the subject be self-same, it should always regard an admittedly changing object as different at different times. . . . . But the fact that we can regard a changing object as identical at different times. . . . . shows that the subject cannot possibly remain the identical self for any two consecutive moments. . . . ." That is to say, the subject must have changed along with the object if the change in the latter has escaped it. But much less than this is needed to prove change in the self and change is not necessarily obnoxious to identity. If western philosophy has established anything it has shown that an identity within difference is possible. If it were the question of absolute or permanent identity that were raised, the finite self might have to fight a much harder battle in order to be recognized as real. But the problems and the triumphs of Buddhism have a far away sound, and suggest the brandishing of intellectual swords in the age of Parmenides.

It would be interesting to fathom the real reasons for the Buddhist insistence upon the unreality of the self, when the practical outcome of its religious teaching is (apart from all theorising qualifications of the statement) that *you* \* are born first as one individual and then as another, that the Buddha—the self-same Gautama—had one existence after another and *could remember* an earlier in a later existence. In fact Buddhism does allow a continued existence which could—in point of being continued—satisfy those who desire a future life, though it is an existence about which modern science and philosophy are alike sceptical. It seems to me that the theoretical impermanence of the ego according to Buddhism was a doctrine invented for ethical purposes. Gautama taught that every action in this life counted, and had its

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\*The qualification which Buddhism makes is expressed by saying—"It is not you, but it is not another" that is reborn.

effect on a future existence. But, if the self has a permanent core of identity apart from its experience in this life, perhaps that will dominate its future existence and the effect of present misdeeds will count but little. I suggest that the Buddha denied the core of identity in order to force on men the necessity of anxious thought about their mode of life, to prevent their "trusting to luck" and refusing to think of morality.

Of the complicated Buddhist doctrine of causation it is sufficient here to say that nothing in the treatise before us tends to suggest an identity between the doctrine of Karma and the law of universal causation of modern physical science. The latter is a conception framed for a material system and contemplating only manifestations of energy localized in space and continuous in time. The former concerns the linking together of life with life and follows out the chain of connections into regions where modern physical science and philosophy alike refuse to follow. One glance at the Buddhist cosmogony shows us that the conception of the sensible universe as a system of interacting impersonal forces had never presented itself to the thinkers of India. There is no searching enquiry into the interaction of mind and matter, and most of the cosmogony is grossly animistic. Scholastic Christianity with its hosts of angels is much less non-scientific.

Among matters of greater detail we may consider the Buddhist doctrine of the psychology of cognition. An act of apprehension by perception, according to this, consists of seventeen "thought moments." But each "thought moment" lasts for a time less than the billionth of a second! Buddhists thus claim to have something like a mental microscope by which the functions of the life continuum are shown to have a sort of molecular structure consisting of a series of time molecules of extreme minuteness. What experience is this doctrine based upon? Buddhists offer us nothing but certain alleged supranormal experiences of certain individuals, into which the scientist who uses his senses and his intellect only cannot enter. The doctrine is thus not science in the sense of being founded on a "shareable" experience and derived from that by logical reasoning. There is nothing to distinguish it from any other wild phantasy.

The analysis of the complete act of cognition with its seventeen moments into various stages among which the moments are distributed seems at first sight to be psychologically promising. But though much is made by the translator and editor of the stage of *Javāṇā* with its seven



moments, there is nothing to show that this (as alleged) corresponds to what western psychology calls apperception. If it corresponds to any fact of experience it seems (as the very illustration given would show) to answer, not to a moment or series of moments in perception, but to an *element* in the perceptive act, viz. the pleasure in the object apprehended. Here we seem to come across a fundamental mistake in the Buddhist analysis—the attempt to identify coexistent elements, isolated merely by abstraction, with independent moments in the perceptual process.

The defect noticed in the treatment of the above topic reappears continually throughout the psychology generally. There is an attempt at the outset at something like a genuine psychological analysis, but very shortly some fatal error of procedure is made, some distorting conception introduced; the analysis ceases to yield results, and the rest of the account is a cloud of inventions, fantastic and yet mechanical. The mechanical nature of the thought is indicated by the extraordinary prominence given to number in Buddhist philosophy. Every class of object, quality, mode, and what not is numbered. There are "fifty-five classes of consciousness functioning in apperception," "eleven classes of consciousness in the retentive function," &c., &c. There is apparently a child-like belief that to have counted things is to have explained them. What is the explanation of this state of things? Only a historian of insight will ever make it clear to us. But certain things seem evident. Thus it seems to be a fact that there was a genuine curiosity in early India prior to 500 B. C., about the facts of nature and of mind alike, a curiosity comparable to that which was so widespread in Greece at the same time. But it seems no less clear that Indian philosophy never had either its Socrates, its Plato, or its Aristotle, and had made no progress in scientific method, in principles of criticism, before it was captured by a great ethical and religious movement and diverted to ends not purely disinterested and intellectual. The result has been the production of a scholasticism quite as monstrous as anything with which mediæval Christianity may be charged.

Finally a few words as to the translator and essayist's share in the publication. It is delightful to find English so flexible and idiomatic penned by a native of this province, and U Shwe Zan Aung has to be congratulated on his achievement. As to the correctness of the translations of the Pali technical terms the present critic is not competent to decide. The translator has a very extensive equipment of western philosophical terms at his disposal with

which he attempts to explain the Pali nomenclature. One thing may be said, however, viz., that, as in the case of Javāṇā mentioned above, we must suspect from time to time a tendency to force an identity between Buddhist and western ideas and to read into the vague phraseology of the Compendium a meaning which is not really to be found in it, the meaning of notions of the west, purified and rendered precise by centuries of the most vigorous and unsparing criticism.

G. R. T. R.

## A PALI GRAMMAR.

BY THA DUN AUNG.

It is a pity that a Pali grammar written now-a-days should be exclusively on the lines of the original native grammarians. Not that these native grammarians are to be despised. On the contrary, the greatest praise is due to them for having laid the first foundation-stones of grammar. Their rules and maxims have been regarded with the profoundest respect; and the faith in their infallibility has been exceeded only by the belief in their extreme antiquity—an antiquity extending in the case of one of them, Kaccāyana, even to the very life-time of the Buddha. Whatever may be said on this point (and very little certain can be said), it is open to question whether their works in their original form are suited to the requirements of modern study. The mass of information collected by them is indeed great and various, the amount of grammatical knowledge to be gathered from them full and complete; but they have one great fault—they are not critical. This fault being possessed by them in common with native Sanskrit grammarians may be excused. But it makes their works unfit for the present-day hand-books of grammar, and it would be the height of folly to start pupils on them. Modern grammars on scientific lines have taken their place as students' hand-books. When the student has become almost a scholar, he is in a position to appreciate native grammarians. But not till then.

Thus when we have read through the Pali Grammar by Tha Dun Aung, the conclusion forces itself upon us that it is not a grammar to be placed in the hands of beginners. It is practically Kaccāyana in English garb, and a very poor garb too. For the author labours under a curious disability of language. It is difficult to imagine a writer in English, foreigner though he be, committing such solecisms

as "you is," "he was speak," and using a plural verb with the third singular personal pronoun, as "he live" &c.! (pp. 111, 112). Apart from these mistakes, which, it may be argued, do not detract from the merits of the work, there is an abundance of ambiguous expressions and obscure statements. Thus many of the rules of *sandhi* are not clear, while other well-known ones are rendered unrecognizable under general statements, which are far from being happy. For instance, the well-known rule that  $a+u=o$  and  $a+i=e$  is thus explained by Rule 2 on page 5:—*The vowel at the beginning of a word is lengthened (Dīgha) when the vowel at the end of a word is elided.* Rule 10 on page 8 reads like a general rule, but it is not: since  $\tilde{n} \tilde{n}$  is the result of the meeting of *niggahita* and a following "e" or "y." And the note that "the *Niggahita* is occasionally changed into *Vagganta*" is too loose to be accurate; it is changed to the nasal of the class to which the following consonant belongs. Hence it is a mistake to write *Sanjato*, *dhammañcare*, *Santhito*, *tanniccutam*, *tandhanam*. These, according to the rule above stated, should be written, *Sanjato*, *dhammañcare*, *Santhito*, *tanniccutam*, *tandhanam*. (p. 8).

The ten kinds of *Sabba* nouns on p. 16 can only interest scholars.

The difference between *Tulyādhikaraṇa* and *Bhinnādhikaraṇa Bahubbihi* (pp. 63-64) should have been made clearer. Indeed, the author's aim seems to have been not so much to impart knowledge to beginners as to propose riddles to be solved by trained scholars.

With regard to the table of verbal suffixes on page 89, should not the 3rd plural, optative, reflective, be *eram* instead of *eyyam*?

We should like to have seen the paragraph on Reduplication, p. 120, made clearer and expanded by giving the rules. The participles, the Gerund and the Infinitive receive too short a treatment for their importance.

The one redeeming feature of the work is the neat way in which it has been got up. The chapters most to our taste are those on Declension and Conjugation.

M. T.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

1907-08.

This volume, which has just—September 1911—made its rather belated appearance, contains two contributions from the able pen of Mr. Taw Sein Ko.

The annual notes on conservation in Burma form the subject of most immediate local interest. No more than Rs. 68,475 was available for expenditure during the year, and work was carried on at Mandalay, Pagan, Sagaing and Prome. The most interesting feature is the commencement of conservation at Prome, where excavation was carried on at the Bawbawgyi and two other pagodas. Mr. Taw Sein Ko opines that his researches connect ancient Prome with Northern India in the 9th century A. C., but the editor in a note expresses his opinion that on stylistic grounds the sculptures must date from at least a century earlier. The discoveries at Prome indicate the necessity for work on the pagodas of the Delta which will probably be found to antedate the monuments of the Upper Province. There are two plates and one inset illustration depicting the monuments dealt with during the year.

The other contribution contains the decipherment with notes of two Chinese inscriptions from Bai in Central Asia. One is considered to be the tombstone of a Chinese general dating from 624 A. C. The other is a legend on the gateway of a Buddhist monastery: "Wild geese fly and fishes swim to and fro; and Heaven may be sought alike in caves and open spaces. This is a subject for joyful utterance."

J. S. F.

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## ANTIQUITIES OF CHAMBA STATES.\*

This is another voluminous publication by the Archaeological Survey of India, written by the well-known Archaeologist, Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. It deals solely with the pre-Muhammadan period of the States of Chamba, and mostly with the inscriptions of this period. The inscriptions, which number 50 are written, some "in the ornamental nail-head type which succeeded the Gupta character and was used all over Northern India"; the others, but one, are in the Çārādā character. It appears there is not even one

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\* Part 1, Inscriptions of the pre-Muhammadan period, by J. Ph. Vogel, Ph. D., Calcutta. Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1911; Price Rs. 22 or 33 Sh.

manuscript to be now found in the whole of Chamba ; only one pandit was discovered who was able to read inscriptions in these characters. Here, the author quotes an interesting note of Dr. Bühler : The name *Çāradāksarāṇi* means either letters sacred to *Çāradā*, i.e., *Sarasvatī*, or it may be taken as the letters which are *Sarasvatī*, i.e., (visible) speech. *Çāradā* is considered as one of the tutelary deities of the country (Kaçmir) which is frequently named after her *Çāradā-deça* or *Çārada-maṇḍala*. In India, too, writing in general is called *Saravatī* or *Saravatī-mukha*, "the face of the goddess of speech." The last is a Tibetan rock-cut inscription. The body of the book, which contains the decipherment, transliteration and translation of those inscriptions, is preceded by an introduction (pp. 1-136) which will prove valuable and interesting not only to the antiquarian, but to the general reader also. The thorough scholarship, with which Dr. Vogel's name is now associated, is evident at every page.

C. D.

### ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SUPER-INTENDENT, HINDU AND BUDDHIST MONUMENTS, NORTHERN CIRCLE (PUNJAB).\*

This Annual Report will be welcomed by all Indianists, for it announces two epigraphical discoveries which are important for the history of India and of Buddhism. Mr. Hīrānanda Čāstri, the officiating Superintendent, informs us that "This year has brought to light an inscription which has proved to be of the highest importance to the Scythian period of Indian history. It has established beyond doubt the fact that between Kanishka and Huvishka, the great Kushāna rulers, there reigned a sovereign of the name of Vasishka whose authority was acknowledged at Mathurā. It was found by Pandit Radha Krishna at Īsāpur situated on the left bank of the river Jumna opposite the Visrānt Ghat and has now been deposited in the Muttra Museum. Another discovery of this year which may be mentioned here is the copper-plate I found along with the coins of Kumāragupta (A. D. 413-455) from the "Nirvāna Stūpā" at Kasiā though nothing can yet be definitely affirmed regarding the writing it bears. It has been sent for examination to Dr. Hoernle. But it is not unlikely that it may throw some light on the identification of Kusinārā."

\* For the year ending 31st March 1911. Price Re 1 or one shilling and four pence ; may be had at the A. B. M. Press, Rangoon.

As is known, much has been done already, especially by Dr. Vögel, for fixing the true site of Kusināra, the place of the Parinirvāṇa of the Buddha; it is thought to be the modern Kāsia, but the question is not yet finally settled. It is to be hoped these two inscriptions, when deciphered, will throw additional light on these two questions, the last especially.

C. D.

### PROGRESS REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, WESTERN CIRCLE. \*

The "Conservation Notes on Ancient Monuments," which form Part II of this publication, contain some interesting notes on important archaeological remains. Of the Kailāsa temple we are told that "as an early example of the Dravidian style of Hindu temple on a grand scale, the Kailāsa which dates from the seventh century A. D. is unrivalled, and may justly be considered as one of the wonders of the world. It is a monolith on an enormous scale, the temple being elaborately carved inside and outside, out of a single huge rock left standing after a wide passage had been cut away in the hillside around it. Out of this living rock were cut shrines, porches, columns, hills, steps, galleries, roofs and the most detailed sculptures some 1,300 years ago." Speaking of an Asoka pillar found broken on the ground close to the southern gateway of the famous Sanchi Tope, the writer of the report states, "I look upon the capitals of Asoka's pillars as the oldest and best executed works of art yet discovered in India. They are no doubt the work of Persian or Assyrian sculptors who were specially employed by Asoka for the purpose. Their style and execution is superior and more dignified than the later work of the Gandhāra School."

Many other such notes are interspersed in the report, making it very agreeable and instructive reading.

C. D.

\* For the year ending 31st March 1911. Price 8 Ans. or 9d. May be obtained at the A. B. M. Press, Rangoon.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA FOR 1907-08.\*

This is the latest Annual Report issued by the Archaeological Department in India. Though published in 1911, the report is for 1907-08; one might at first be surprised at the discrepancy between the date of the year under report and that of the publication. Two reasons might perhaps be adduced for this apparent delay; the length of time necessarily required to bring out successfully such a magnificent publication; but perhaps the principal reason is that the Superintendents of the several archaeological districts see the very greatest portion of the year taken up uselessly by the work of conservation; I say uselessly, because such work could be carried out more satisfactorily and efficiently by engineers trained in this Department, and of whom there is already a certain number in India; such engineers should be made altogether responsible for the work of conservation and restoration; this would in no way preclude the scholarship of the superintendent to bear on and influence such work. If such an arrangement were made, the Archaeological Superintendents would have a great deal more of time to devote exclusively to research work, which is their legitimate work. As it is, a superintendent, having to range regularly the whole of his province in the course of his supervision of restoration work, has very little time to devote to anything else, and almost none to devote to actual research and to the working up of the materials he has gathered in the course of his excavations. It is principally new discoveries, new facts, new data that scholars in Europe and in the East want; and such discoveries and data cannot, under the present system of making one only man responsible for everything, be made and given out to the public without any lengthy regrettable delays. The Government of India, in this matter, might take a good lesson from the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, at Hanoi.

The volume under review is a magnificent one, and continues in a manner which is beyond all praise the traditions of high scholarship and conscientious endeavour which have always distinguished the Archaeological Department in India. It contains 86 plates and 52 text illustrations. Some of these are extremely interesting, shewing as they do, the Hellenistic influence on Buddhist art.

All the papers in the Report are of very great interest, and well worth perusal even to those persons who are not

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\*Calcutta, Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1911. Price Rs. 25/- or 37s. 6d. Can be had also at the A. B. M. Press, Rangoon.

specialists ; I dare say they are indispensable to any one taking an enlightened interest in things Indian. Residents in Burma will naturally be more interested with the papers concerning this province. A few short extracts, will prove of interest ; for the complete papers we refer the reader to the volume itself.\*

P. 37. "Conservation works were, for the first time, started at Prome or Çrikshetra, which according to the Buddhist Chronicles, was founded by King Duttaboung 101 years after the Nirvāna of the Buddha, *i. e.*, in the year 442 B. C. Three pagodas were selected for the conservation, the most interesting of which is the Bawbawgyi (Plate X, C). It is situated at Hmawza, about 5 miles to the east of Prome. .... The inscriptions, sculptures and votive tablets, discovered at Hmawza in the course of excavations, appear to connect ancient Prome with Northern India in the Gupta period, and its monuments may probably be assigned to the 9th century A. D." In a footnote the Director of Archæology says : "The 9th century A. D. appears to me too late for some of the sculptures found at Prome. I should assign them, on stylistic grounds, to at least a century earlier."

P. 41. "Its antiquity (*i. e.*, Prome's) must be comparatively high, as it is often referred to in the Chinese annals of the Tang Dynasty (618—907) A. D. as the kingdom of Pin and it was known to the celebrated Chinese pilgrims Hiuen Tshang and I-tsing, who visited India in the seventh century A. D., and left trustworthy accounts of their travels. It is still known to the Hindus as Bromodēsh, (1) and the Irrawaddy river (Airāvati) on which it stands, is regarded by them as second only to the Ganges in its efficacy to wash away sin. .... As to epigraphical records (at Prome), two inscriptions in an unknown script were found, in 1907, by General de Beylié in the Bebe Pagoda and Kyakka Thein, and a broken piece of a votive tablet, .... with a Sanskrit legend was found with many others, among the debris in the core of the Bawbawgyi Pagoda. .... Among the sculptures discovered is one which comes from Zegu Pagoda." And the Director of Archæology adds in a footnote : "This sculpture appears to me plainly to derive its style from the familiar Gupta work of Northern India."

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\* The publications of the Archæological Department are regularly sent to : the Secretariat Library, Rangoon ; the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon ; and the Phayre Museum (?).

1. That is : Brahma-deça : the place or country of Brahma.



It can hardly be assigned to a later date than the 7th century A.D. and may be earlier." (1)

C. D.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, EASTERN CIRCLE, FOR 1910-1911.\*

This is another interesting Report, containing a good deal of information on Temples and other Archæological remains in the Eastern Circle, too numerous to mention here. We remark that Dr. D. S. Spooner, the Superintendent of Archæology enters a rather bitter complaint against some officers of the Public Works Department who show "an inclination to avoid archæological work wherever possible. Instead of devising adequate measures for the conservation of monuments, I have seemed to observe a tendency in some quarters to devise measures for evading conservation." This is a serious charge, when it is borne in mind that the Government of India has laid this responsibility upon Executive Engineers. As far as we know, nothing of the kind can be laid against such officers in Burma; but we have heard or read of one or two amusing instances in which I. C. S. men tried to impede the progress of Archæological work on startling and antiquated grounds. It is needless to mention such officers are fortunately far and wide between.

C. D.

## REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY, BURMA.

This Report of Mr. Taw Sein Ko for the year 1910-11 is perhaps the most interesting and the most important that has yet been published. We remark at the very beginning that the Government of India have expressed a desire that monographs should be written on Buddhist iconography, epigraphy and other subjects; this is indeed as it should

1. These statements seem to fully bear out what the present reviewer wrote in 1906, after a visit to Prome with Général de Beylié, about the foundation and destruction of Prome. See General de Beylié's "L'architecture Hindoue en Extrême-Orient: Appendice, Précis de l'Histoire de Pagan, par M. C. Duroiselle, pp. 397—404.

\* Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1911. Price: Indian, 12 annas; English, 1s. 6d.

be ; scholars in the East, in Europe and in America have been long waiting for such monographs, and were indeed beginning to give up in despair. The Superintendent of Archæology himself is not to blame if so little has been done in this direction ; we know he has been handicapped in this most important work by many other duties, such as organizing the Archæological Department in Burma on a sound basis, by the work of restoration and conservation and, not least, by the lack of intelligent and trained assistance. On the other hand, it must also be confessed that the Archæological Department in India, and consequently, in Burma too, seem on the whole to have been extremely jealous of their epigraphical and other treasures, which, and this is the case in Burma particularly, have remained a sealed book not only to the general public, but also to scholars who take a keen interest in these matters. This was no doubt due to a tacit understanding, if not to positive orders, that nothing should be divulged to outside scholars. We do not think that the forwarding of advance copies of inscriptions to a few Indianists would in any way have detracted from the legitimate glory accruing to the officers of the Department who had discovered the original inscribed stones or tablets, etc. ; on the contrary, the collaboration of non-official orientalisists would no doubt have materially advanced our knowledge of India and Burma ; whereas it has practically been retarded. The Government of India have now, however, taken a wise step in deciding upon the appointment of Honorary Correspondents to the Archæological Department "to whom," it is said "advance copies of inscriptions, tablets, etc., *might* be forwarded." The word "*might*," italicized by me as above, seems to point out to some lingering hesitation on the subject. It is to be hoped such hesitation will not last long and that the Department will at last become less reticent.

As is to be expected, the Report contains much that is merely official and routine, such as, "Tours and Inspections of Buildings and sites," *etc.* ; but there is also much that is really interesting and makes the present Report, as we have already stated, about the best among all those already published. For instance, the too short chapter on "excavations," in which we are told that at Kyaukkat Kon and Nachangon, "the finds made indicate the vestiges of Siva cult, and the most important of them are five specimens of funeral urns of different shape and pattern, and a terra-cotta plate on which are stamped a trident and a headless animal, which probably represents the bull Nandi" ; and that, at Tawadeintha Pagoda were found "two fragmentary inscriptions

in the Pyu script, which are incised on clay votive tablets." Another undeniable evidence of Siva cult in Burma is the discovery of a *linga* found on the obverse face of a clay seal. These finds are most important, as they corroborate the opinions of some scholars on this point, and are most useful for the history of Buddhism in Burma. It is to be hoped more of these Pyu inscriptions will be found in future, as they have a direct and most important bearing on the ancient history of Burma.

Another important find made at the beginning of this year at the Bawbawgyi Pagoda (Old Prome), and perhaps the most important yet made for the history of Buddhism in Burma, is that of two fragments of stone inscriptions in Pali in a very archaic script. Mr. L. Finot, of Paris, to whom an impression was sent, seems to think the script is almost identical with the Kadamba one of the 5th century A. D. and that these fragments may be ascribed to the 6-7th century A. D. From the tone of the note, however, there seems to be uncertainty about this date.

If it proves to be correct, we shall have most important testimony as to the existence of the Hināyana School of Buddhism in the valley of the Irrawaddy at a very early period, since one of the fragments contains a phrase most common in the Pāli Canon : *Phassa paccaya vedanā*, "sensation is caused by contact." Thus, little by little, documents bearing on the very early history of Burma are brought to light. This indicates that systematical excavations should be carried out energetically at Old Prome, for that ancient city bids fair to reveal at last those links which were surmised only and vainly looked for elsewhere.

On page 14 is a comparative list of Buddhist terms in the Burmese and Siamese languages which, Mr. Taw Sein Ko tells us, "is interesting in that it indicates that the terms used in Burma are derived from China." For some at least of these terms, we do not agree with Mr. Taw Sein Ko. *Phu-ra*, pronounced : *pha-ya* (Siamese *Phutto*), meaning Buddha, is said to be from the Chinese *Fu-ya* (now pronounced *Fo-yeh*); the derivation of this word has puzzled many an Orientalist; some say it is from the Sanskrit or Pāli *Vara*, with initial "V" changed to "ph"; the defect in this derivation is that it does not account for the medial vowel "U", which is found in a good number of Burmese words in which it is pronounced, no doubt owing to phonetic decay, "a" as in "pat". In Mr. Taw Sein Ko's derivation the difficulty lies with the second syllable "ra"; the interchangeability of "ph" and "f" is a well known phenomenon. The Burmese word is written ခရာ : *phura* :

the Chinese Fu-ya ; it is well known to every student of Burmese, how, in the language, all surds are changed into sonants when coming immediately after a vowel or sonant consonants ; in fact, this happens to a greater or less extent in all languages ; it is the change of a harder sound into a softer one ; something similar has happened in the case of "r", this thrilled letter has come to be pronounced without any thrill at all and has passed into the flat "y;" the proper sound of "r" is still retained in Arakanese, which, on the whole, appears to have undergone less change and to have kept much nearer to the original pronunciation as it was before the separation of the two branches. It is not easy to see why the Burmese, in taking this word over from China, should have, in direct opposition to the national tendency, changed the Chinese "ya" into "ra;" it may be said the word was adopted at a time when the softening of "r" into "y" was only in progress and not yet universal, but this would imply that the Chinese had an "r" and not a "y"; and this again would not account for the medial "U". It is remarkable the Arakanese still pronounce this word with a strongly thrilled "r"; I think the derivation of the word Phura : (*pron.* phaya :) has not yet been settled. Tara (*pron.* taya), the Law, is another difficult word ; Mr. Taw Sein Ko derives it from the Chinese Ta-erh (ma-ye) which is the equivalent of the Sanskrit dharma ; the derivation may be here right. Sanga, more properly sangha, (ဆာ) assembly, the order of Buddhist monks, is made to come from the Chinese Seng-cha or Tsang-ka, but clearly the word has been derived directly from Sanskrit or Pāli, sangha, for both these languages, especially the former, were known very early in Burma, and why should the Burmese have taken from China a very common word which had already been imported from India ? It is much more probable both words were adopted separately from one of the two Indian languages. The same may be said of Neikban နိက္ခမ္ဘ which has been directly taken from the Pāli Nibbāna, Sansk. Nirvāna. In Burmese the sound of medial "i" followed by two consonants or a final consonant is always altered to "ei" the consonant immediately following it losing its original value and being pronounced slightly like a "k"; this holds good for all words ; moreover the graphy နိက္ခမ္ဘ Nibbān clearly shows it to be Pāli. So also for the word yahan or rahan, ရာဏ which Mr. Taw Sein Ko derives from the Chinese Lohan ; the Burmese is without doubt from the P li Araham, a venerable person, hence an ordained monk ; Burmese, being a monosyllabic language, regularly clips the foreign word which it appropriates by dropping one, in

some cases two, syllables at the end ; sometimes by dropping the first one, as is the case in the word under discussion; the Burmese *Rahan* or *Yahan* and the Chinese *lohan* are different and distinct borrowings and modifications of the same word.

It is found now (P. 17) that the early dates of Burmese History beginning with Anawrata and as entered in Phayre's History need revision; the need of such revision had been felt for some years.

There follow many interesting archæological and historical items, the most interesting being no doubt the deciphering of the Pyu script of the Myazedi inscription by Mr. Blagden. This difficult script, which appears to be very archaic, had baffled the efforts of several scholars. There is much in this first decipherment that is tentative ; but the principal is that we have now the key to the other Pyu documents which, it is to be hoped, will in the near future come to light. The language is neither Talaing nor Burmese, although it contains a good number of words from both these idioms. One important fact is now pretty certain and it is that the tribe who established themselves at Pagan were not, in all probability, the Pyus, as had until now been thought, but the Myin, the Burmese proper.

All interested in things Burmese will be well repaid by the perusal of this interesting and important report.

C. D.

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### HANDBOOK TO THE SCULPTURES IN THE PESHAWAR MUSEUM.\*

A little book more valuable than its modest title would suggest. It is in the district surrounding Peshawar that, as is well known, there flourished the school of sculpture so deeply influenced by the Hellenistic plastic art and to which the name Graeco-Buddhist has been given. The book is primarily meant for the residents in Peshawar and the other visitors to the Peshawar Museum. But we dare say, it will be read by others also with pleasure and profit.

In the introduction the author gives succinctly an account of the Buddha's life up to his predication of the First

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\* By D. Brainerd Spooner, Ph. D., Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, and Curator, Peshawar Museum. Bombay, Thacker & Co., Rs. 1/8.

1. For a masterly and yet unsurpassed study of this Graeco-Buddhist art, see ; *L'Art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*, Tome Premier, introduction, les édifices, les bas-reliefs, par A. Foucher, 1905. Imprimerie Nationale, Paris. (Edit).

Sermon. Then follow the principal legends which have accumulated around the Buddha's life with, in every case, the numbers of the sculptures in which they are depicted, given. The last part is a description and explanation of those sculptures and of others, without which the general visitor could not understand, in most cases, what he was looking at. Eight photographs only are given. The reader naturally hungers for more; but those given have been especially chosen and give a good though, to persons away from Peshawar, an insufficient idea of the Graeco-Buddhist art. But it must be borne in mind the little book is a guide to all the sculptures in the museum.

C. D.

### CATALOGUE OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM AT MATHURA.\*

A very scholarly little work with a very modest title. The introduction (pp. 1-46) will prove very useful not only to visitors of the museum at Mathura, but also to all those in India, Burma and elsewhere who are interested directly or indirectly in the old Buddhist art of India. To any resident in Burma, whose work lies in the districts and who not seldom comes across ancient images in a variety of attitudes and costumes, etc.; to the visitor at Pagan and other archaeological centres, who, not seldom, while admiring those remains of the activity of another age, does not understand their signification or purpose, this introduction will be of immense help; it might almost be called a "short introduction to Indian iconography." Almost all that is explained therein applies also to Burma, for the simple reason that this Province has derived its iconography almost entirely from India, and what is not purely Indian can, with a little study, be easily traced and explained (1). There the uninitiated will learn how to differentiate a statue of the Bodhisatta (ဗုဒ္ဓဘုရား) from that of Buddha, the significance of the different postures of the Buddha, and many other details too numerous to enumerate. The chapters of the Introduction treat of The Mathura Museum; Explorations; the Monuments of Ancient Mathura; the Mathura school of

\* By J. Ph. Vogel, Ph. D., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle. Printed by F. Luker, Superintendent, Government Press, Allahabad, United Provinces, 1910. Price Rs. 3-8 (5s. 3d.)

1. To mention only a few figures very scarce or not found in India, but common in Burma: Brahma Sahampati; Datarattha one of the four Lokapalas or Regents of the world; Vasundhari, "Mother Earth," generally standing, but sometimes, seldom, in a sitting posture, etc.

Sculpture, and Iconography. Much discussion has taken place as to the probable origin of the important Mathura School of Art, and Dr. Vogel, one of the best authorities on Buddhist Art in India, is of opinion, and gives good reasons for it, that it was originally purely Indian, although it was much influenced by the Graeco-Buddhist Art of Gandhara. Twenty-five photographic plates add greatly to the utility and value of the work.

C. D.

### ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SUPER- INTENDENT, MUHAMMADAN AND BRITISH MONUMENTS, NORTHERN CIRCLE FOR THE YEAR 1911. \*

This report deals almost exclusively with the work of conservation in the Northern Circle; it is, naturally, rather dry, on this very account, to the outsider; here and there, however, are found details of importance and interest, and it is these which make the volume, like all such publications, so interesting and valuable: The value of the report is enhanced by 11 splendid photographic plates, 2 drawings and one plan.

C. D.

### SANSKRIT-TIBETAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY, PART I.†

A very useful work from the pen of the great pioneer of Tibetan studies, Csoma de Körös, and edited with great care and scholarship by Dr. E. Denison Ross, the well-known versatile Orientalist, and Mahāmādhya Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣana, whose name has been long associated with Tibetan scholarship. The work was undertaken at the instance of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, who have thus rendered a real service to philology and the study of Buddhism. The introduction (i-v) gives

\* Allahabad, Government Press, United Province, 1911. Price Rs. 2-10 (4s.)

† Being an edition and translation of the Mahavyutpatti by Alexander Csoma de Körös, edited by E. Denison Ross, Ph.D., F.A.S.B., and Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣana. Price Rs. 5 or 7s.

Being Vol. IV, No. 1 pp. 1-127, of the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society, 1 Park Street, Calcutta.

the genesis of the manuscript now for the first time published, and makes very interesting reading.

The title itself, as given to the work by de Kōrōs, is in some way a misleader, for the Vocabulary is not, as might be inferred from the title-page, in alphabetical order, but the words and expressions are arranged according to matters and subjects under general heads, very much in the same manner as a manual for learning European languages, so common in the West. It might at first sight be thought such an arrangement is highly inconvenient, but a little reflection will soon show that, on the contrary, such a plan greatly facilitates the work of the scholar, for he finds, under the different heads, a great number of words and expressions relating to the same idea or the same doctrine and he is thus spared a laborious search, which would be inevitable had the Vocabulary been arranged alphabetically. To give only one or two examples. A person might desire to know those qualities which go to make a perfect *Çrāvaka* (*Pāli*, *Sāvaka*) or disciple of the Buddha; he finds them all gathered in one chapter (XIX), and has therefore not to wade laboriously through a multitude of books where often such references cannot be easily found. Similarly, he will find all the epithets of the Buddha in one chapter; those of the *Bodhisattvas* in another; and so on for any particular subject he desires to refer to. There are 83 such sections, and this number shows the Vocabulary is pretty nigh exhaustive.

This volume used in conjunction with the *Dharma Saṅgraha* (1) cannot fail to prove extremely useful, for both works practically complete each other. Such another work exists in Burma, which contains much matter that is not included in the *Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary* nor in the *Dharma Saṅgraha*; it is the *Pucchāpakiṇṇaka-Kyam*. (2) Unfortunately the work is all in Burmese; a translation of it would be very desirable and useful, for the matter it contains is very much more miscellaneous than that in the other two volumes.

Orientalists will owe a debt of gratitude to the two scholars who have so carefully edited so useful a work of reference.

C. D.

1. *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, Vol. 1, Part V, the *Dharma Saṅgraha*, an ancient collection of Buddhist technical terms, prepared for publication by Kenjiu Kasawara and edited by F. Max Müller and H. Wenzel, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 7s. 6d.

2. Rangoon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1255 Buddhist Era.



## KLEINE SYSTEMATISCHE PĀLI-GRAMMATIK.\*

"The short Systematic Pāli Grammar" is, we think, the first of its kind to appear in Germany, in so far as it seems to be meant for students who approach the study of Pāli without a previous knowledge of Sanskrit, for it is intended, the author tells us in his short preface, for the German Buddhists acquainted only with the German language. The epithet "kleine" fits exactly the new grammar, for it is very short indeed, the grammatical matter covering only 78 pages. In such a short space nothing much more than paradigms of declensions and conjugations is to be expected; and it is precisely of what the greater part of these 78 pages consists. Explanations are altogether too scanty, in fact almost nil, and we doubt whether real benefit will be derived from the Systematische Pāli-Grammatik. The learned author, in his desire to condense as much possible, as fallen into the mistake of giving barely a skeleton of the grammar of a rich and somewhat complicated ancient tongue; the book would do very well for a class, where the master could supplement verbally the deficiency of necessary explanations. But even some of the declensions are not as complete as they might be; to give only one example. In the "a" declension no mention is made of the instrumentive suffix "sā" or of the ablative "so," which are commonly met with; and the old nominative plural in "āse," which also is of pretty frequent occurrence, especially in old texts, such for instance as the Suttanipāṭa and the Itivuttaka, has also not been given. We notice a similar omission for the gerund in "tvāna" and the infinitive in "tave." The text and grammatical analysis of the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta, at the end of the book, will prove useful to the beginner; but it would have been perhaps better had the author chosen an easier text, a Jātaka for example; it would have been well too, for it would have greatly facilitated the task of the student, had an alphabetical list of all the words found in the sutta, been given at the end. We hope the present grammar is only the precursor of a more complete one. Meanwhile, the study of Pāli might have been made much more attractive had the book been written on the lines of Ballantyne's "First lessons in Sanskrit Grammar," Perry's "Sanskrit Primer" or some other similar work.

C. D.

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\* Von Bhikku Nānatiloka; Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Pāligesellschaft, Breslau, 1911, Walter Markgraf, Preis 6 Mark.

## LA PORTE ORIENTALE DU STUPA DE SANCHI.\*

The famous Musée Guimet, in Paris, possesses one of the five reproductions of the eastern gate of the Stūpa of Sānchi, the most ancient Buddhist monument which has been preserved to us. The little volume (76 pages) before us is an explanation of the structure of the Stūpa, as well as a clear and interesting interpretation of the legendary scenes represented on it by the sculptors of old and connected with the Buddha's life. The author is M. A. Foucher, whose name alone is a guarantee of accuracy and scholarship. The book contains eight photographic plates, which add greatly to its value.

C. D.

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## THE PAVACANOPAYANI

"A MONTHLY PALI MAGAZINE." †

This new publication began its career in June 1911, and has appeared regularly since. It is intended to promote a thorough knowledge of the Pāli language by providing monthly reading of a more secular character than can generally be found in Pāli books old and new; and by inciting young scholars of either Ceylon, India or Burma, to compose in Pāli on any topic forming the subject of a letter: the best written of these letters having a place set apart in the Pāvacanopāyaṇī; but it has a more ambitious aim also; it hopes to become, in time, an organ for the exchange of opinions among scholars in the East and in the West, who could otherwise not communicate one with another, owing to mutual unintelligibility, in their mother tongues. The contents are as varied as a new publication in such a language can make them at the beginning, as may be judged by the following: Mr. Samarasekara, station master; Review of books; an old letter; Delight; The decrease of Buddhism in Ceylon; A Prize letter; The Time-table; Survey of the month, etc., etc.

An interesting feature is the publication, by instalments, of a Pāli translation of the Sanskrit Hitopadeṣa. The Hitopadeṣa is a compilation from the Pañcatantra, and is, therefore, of Buddhistic origin; so that it will now appear

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\* Paris, Ernest Leroux, Editeur, 28, rue Bonaparte (VI e)

† Edited by the Rev. W. Dhammāṇḍa Bhikkhu; printed at the Vidyāprakāṣa Press, Ambalangoda, Ceylon; yearly subscription for Ceylon, India and Burma Rs. 1-0-0, and 2 shillings for other countries.

again in a thoroughly Buddhist garb; this becomes manifest on comparing the invocation at the very beginning, in both recensions :

### SANSKRIT

Siddhiḥ sādhye satām astu  
Prasādāt tena Dhurjateḥ,  
Jāṇhavīphenalekheva  
Yamnūrdhni ṇaṇinah kalā !

### PALI

Sattānaṃ sādhiye siddhir  
Atthu tassa Mahesino  
Pasādena, vaco yassa  
'Navajjam Sāvakaṃ 'Naghā !

Except in such passages, where Hindu sentiments have to be changed into Buddhist ones, the translator might have given a freer scope to his own style. But the translation, as it is, and it is very well done, though stiff, will be no doubt very useful to beginners either in Sanskrit or Pāli. The only drawback is, the Pāli Magazine is printed in Sinhalese characters, which few outside of Ceylon can read. Why not print it also in Roman characters? It would make it accessible to a far greater number of readers.

C. D.

## NOTES, QUERIES AND MEMORANDA.

### NAMES OF BURMESE KINGS.

In Stuart's *Burma Through the Centuries* we are told that the second, sixth, and seventh kings of the Alompra dynasty "took the names" respectively of *Naungdawgyi*, *Bodopra* and *Bagyidaw*, when they ascended the throne. It is not a matter of much importance, but it is as well to be accurate as to details; and I would therefore point out that the statements seem to be quite inaccurate. Naungdawgyi was the eldest of Alompra's sons, and was naturally known by the title—"royal eldest brother"; *naung* is still used colloquially as "elder brother" in Tavoy and Mergui, and is met with in the common expression နှိနာဏ် (*nyi naung*). Among Burmans, it is not proper to address one's superior in age or position by name, or even to refer to them by name in public if this can be avoided. It was necessary therefore for younger members of the family, descendants, and historians to refer to that sovereign by means of the title mentioned, thus perpetuating it. "Bodopra" should be spelt *Bo-daw-paya*, "worshipful royal great-grandfather." *Bo* is a common expression. *Bagyidaw* is a "royal uncle," *ba-gyi* meaning an uncle who is older than one's father or mother. It should be noted that these two kings bore the relationship signified by their so-called names to King Mindon, in whose time most of the chronicles were written or re-written. I am certain that there are no contemporary records referring to them by the names mentioned. Sangermano, who knew Bodopra well, calls him Badonsachen; our own histories show that as prince he was the ခံရံစား ("Eater" of the town of Badon). By "sachen" the worthy Father probably meant စာဠ (*thakin*) in its original signification of "lord," "master,"—though in later times the title of *thakin* was more generally given to princesses, or, according to Judson, to the wives of high officials. Sangermano himself went wrong in saying that "he laid aside the title of king, and assumed that of Pondoghi, which signifies great and exalted virtue." He meant ဘုန်းတော်ကြီး (*phon-daw-gyi*), a common enough expression used by courtiers, and corresponding to "His Majesty." It may be mentioned that the Burmese Kings did as a matter of custom assume titles at their coronation အခမ်းအနား ceremony. Thus, King Mindon's "royal name" was Thiri-pawara-wizaya-nanta-yasa-pandita-tribawana-ditya-dipadi-maha-dhamma-yazadiyaza, but for obvious reasons such titles were never used except in ceremonial writings.

Note might also be made that Mounng Mounng, the 18 year old son of Naungdawgyi who was placed on the throne after Singu Min and reigned for seven (not eleven) days, was called နောင်တောင် (Phaung-ga Min), that Bagyidaw's territorial name was Sagaing Min, and that King Tharrawaddy was also known as the Shwebo Min.

M. O.

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## A DISSERTATION ON THE SPELLING OF THE BURMESE WORD FOR HEART.

The Burmese word for *heart* was formerly spelt 'hnit-lon.' It has been comparatively recently changed into 'hna-lon'. The exact reason for such a change is not known. Perhaps it might be to avoid the occasion for a pun furnished by the old spelling which literally means two round articles. A cheap wit promptly corrects it into 'ta-lon', one round thing, when some one says 'hnit-lon'. It is doubtful if the change is correct and whether there is any authority to support it. On the other hand there are grave reasons to prefer the original spelling.

In the first place the reformed spelling obscures the etymology of such words, as 'hnit-thet'; 'hnit-lo'; hnit-chaik'; 'hnit-thein'; 'hnit-myo' and 'hnit-myaw'. Each of these words has a reference to the state of feelings taking its root at the heart, 'hnit-lon'. They literally mean, *heart* approves; *heart* desires; *heart* prefers; *heart* comforted; *heart* pleased with; and *heart* regrets.

Another reason for preferring the original spelling is that it accords with the idea expressed in such words as 'thit-a-hnit'; the *heart* of wood; 'u a-hnit' the yolk, i.e., the *heart* of an egg; and 'a-hnit thara', the *heart* of a discourse, its essence. Following the same idea the essential part of a person is 'hnit-lon.'

Of the word 'hnit-lon' the first component seems to have originally meant *two*. How the heart of a person came to be designated *two* may be only surmised. It may be noted at the start however that a person in the primitive state of intelligence could not have made distinctions between *heart*, *mind* and *spirit*. Even after these ideas have been distinguished and a name given to each we frequently find in books and conversation such combinations as 'seit-hnit-lon', mind-heart, and 'seit wi-nyin', mind-spirit, when only one of them is actually meant.

Let us suppose a primitive person dreamt. He chased, fought or ran away from danger in his dreams. But he woke and found himself under the tree, or on its branches or in the cave where he laid down to rest. Then he realized that he could not have done those acts in the body. For there has been a sudden change of scenes and localities and there were no traces to be seen of the game he killed, or of the wounds he received or of the monster that would devour him. But he was quite sure that those things occurred as he was that he (in the body) never went anywhere. He was puzzled. He could not at first reconcile the two sets of facts. In trying to find the solution the idea would naturally suggest itself to him. There must be two persons in him. One, that is his body, his outer self, hunts, fights and runs while awake and another that does these things while he sleeps. Like the inner or number *two* part of the wood and egg he must also have his counter-part, the inner person, the number two. Hence came the designation '*hnit*', *two* for the inner man.

This view of the origin of the word is strengthened by the Lahu (Muhsö) and Ahka term '*nima*' for heart. It may be noted here that these tribes not only belong to the same stock as the Burmans but their dialects have a closely intimate connection with the Burmese. In their word '*nima*' for heart, the principal component '*ni*' with a slight change in tone means *two*. The same word is applicable to the inner portion or central part of any thing, as wood, or stone. The second component '*ma*' as in the case of the Burmese '*lon*' looks like a numeral auxiliary.

But in reality the Burmese word '*lon*' here does not appear to be a numeral auxiliary. It is a verb meaning unite, amalgamate.

It must have been early recognized that this second personality, though distinct, is intimately connected with the outer self. For though this outward self does not accompany the other in his adventures of the dreamland, the excitements of the chase or the fight, the joys of success or victory, the fear of danger still remain with him to some extent when he wakes as evidenced by his palpitating heart. This leads to the conclusion that there must be a mysterious union between the two selves. Hence came the word '*hnit-lon*', two united, amalgamated.

As to the physical heart when it was discovered to be the fountain head of life-blood in men and animals; that it could be easily affected by any change in the state of feelings; and that it ceased to work at the dissolution of union between the two selves, it would naturally be considered as having

something intimately to do with the mysterious inner person. Hence it came to be identified with it and named after it.

The second component '*ma*' in Lahu may be put down as a numeral auxiliary. In that usage it is equivalent to the Burmese "*hku*". But it does not seem to be the significance given here. '*Ma*' in Lahu as in Burmese implies a main or principal thing. In Burmese we have '*lan-ma*', '*myit-ma*,' '*nan-ma*,' etc., meaning main road, principal river, chief palace. So in applying it to the inner or spiritual man it appears to indicate the essential part of a person, his real or greater self.

The same idea seems to have been at the root of the Wa word for heart. It is called '*rawhm*'. From the aspirated tone given to the vowel it seems to have been originally made up of two words *ra-awm*, which literally mean *two-same*. This would imply the unionship of the two selves in one and the same person.

It is hoped that in the foregoing discussions there will be found reasons sufficient to favour the original spelling '*hnit-lon*.'

P. S.

BA TE.

Any criticism on the above discussions will be gratefully received by the undersigned.

BA TE,

Please Address :

1st JUNE 1911.

TAUNGTHUGON, INSEIN.

INSEIN,

1st August, 1911.

THE EDITOR,

JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Dear Sir,

I shall be much obliged if you or any of your readers can give me any information on the following points :—

1. The meaning of the different postures of the Buddha's statues ;
2. The precise significance attached by writers on Burmese style to the terms ဂရုဒံ and လဟုဒံ ("heavy" and "light" sounds).

I am,

Yours faithfully,

J. A. STEWART

## ANSWERS TO MR. STEWART'S QUESTIONS.

## 1. MEANING OF THE DIFFERENT POSTURES OF THE BUDDHA'S STATUES.

Only a short explanation of the postures of the Buddha's images can here be given. The Buddha is naturally represented in three positions: seated, lying and standing. The first two are by far the most commonly met with in Burma. When seated, he is always represented sitting in the Indian fashion, with the legs brought back under the hams, the soles of his feet upwards and the right foot slightly in front. The Buddha sat with the soles of his feet thus exposed that any one not yet a Buddhist, such, for instance, as his Brahmin interlocutors, might with ease and with the least inconvenience to the Master himself, see the wonderful signs thereon, which fully established his claim to be the Buddha, and thereby be convinced. Whether standing or seated, the hands are kept in different ways. 1st. The left hand is placed on his lap, palm upwards, and the right one hangs at his side, the tips of the fingers touching the ground. He is then under the tree of Wisdom, commonly called the Bo Tree, and is taking the Earth to witness that he is the only being worthy to sit under that tree, as well as of his unshakable resolution to remain there, in spite of all the efforts of the Evil One, Māra<sup>1</sup>. This is the most common posture all over Burma, above all in modern statues.—2d. Same position, but both hands are resting on his lap, palm upwards, the right hand reposing on the left one; this is the posture of meditation and represents the Master sitting under the Bo Tree and meditating just before he obtained perfect Illumination; thus he was seated when Māra came to oust him, and he took the earth to witness as described above.—The reclining posture represents the Mahāparinibbāna, the Buddha's death. He is lying on the right side, resting his head on his right hand.

The standing images are, though not very scarce, still very much less common than the seated statues; the significance of the standing ones is known principally by the position of the hands; two have already been described. Sometimes<sup>2</sup> the two hands are kept before the chest, with

1. See Jātakas, Vol. I, Nidānakathā, and Rhys Davids' translation, in Buddhist Birth Stories.

2. The following positions are also found in the statues of the Bodhisattvas or Buddhas-to-be, especially in India. In Burma they are found mostly in connection with the Buddha. Some of them can be seen on the frescoes in the corridor of the Ānanda temple at Pagan, and in a few old images.



a finger of the left hand held between the thumb and the index of the right hand : the Master is expounding the doctrine ; it is the teaching posture. In other images, the right hand alone is thus brought against the chest with the tips of the thumb and of the index pressed against each other : the Buddha is discussing on some point of doctrine ; it is the posture of argumentation. Again, the right hand is held up open near the shoulder, the palm outwards and the fingers joined together : it is the posture by which the Buddha assures his hearers they have naught to fear (*abhaya*). Then, there is the attitude of love and charity : the right arm is hanging down, with the hand open, palm outwards ; the Master is bestowing the spiritual gifts conferred by his doctrine <sup>3</sup>.

C. D.

## 2. "GARU" AND "LAHU."

I. Burmese prosody, or *San* = နှစ် (*Chanda*), follows closely the Pali of the *Vuttodaya*, written by Sangha-rakkhitta of Ceylon, which itself is founded on the Sanskrit *Vrittoraṭṇakara*. The principal Burmese works on the subject are the *Vuttodaya Tika*, the *Chandosarattha*, the *Vacanattahajotika*, and the *Kavisara*.

The vowels ခ-ဣ-ဥ are called ရသ = *yattha* or *rassa*, "short." အ-ဤ-ဦ-ဧ-အ-ဩ-ဥ-အ-ဩ-အ-အ-အ-အ are called နိသ = *digha*, "long." Garu (ဂရု), "heavy," syllables are (1) those formed with an *a-that*, (2) those ending with a *niggahita* or *the-the-tin*, and (3) those containing the *digha* vowels. Lahu (လဟ), "light," syllables (*breves*) are those containing the *yattha* vowels. The values 2 and 1 are attached to these respectively.

There are eight varieties of prosodial feet, *gana* or ဂဏ် (*gaing*), each containing three syllables ; each foot has a symbolic letter by which it is known, and has a Greek equivalent. Thus the *ma* foot (မ-ဂဏ်) contains three *garu* syllables (2 2 2), and corresponds to the Greek *molossus*.

3. Cf. A. Foucher's *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde* ; also Grünvedel's *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 200 ; L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 141, 235 ; E. Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, illustrated by literary documents and objects of religious worship, 208, 221.

The following table gives the various feet:—

Symbol.	Syllables.			Greek name.
Ma (၁)	2	2	2	molossus
Na (၂)	1	1	1	tribrachys
Bha (၃)	2	1	1	dactylus
Ya (၄)	1	2	2	bacchius
Ja (၅)	1	2	1	amphibrachys
Sa (၆)	1	1	2	anapaestus
Ra (၇)	2	1	2	cretious
Ta (၈)	2	2	1	antibacchic

In Pali poetry, the various metres are distinguished by the use of these varieties of prosodial feet, but this does not seem to be the case in Burmese. In fact, Burmese writers have apparently missed the true nature and value of prosody, and have lost themselves in mythical and fanciful conceptions which have no practical significance. Thus, each *gana* is supposed to belong to a particular lunar mansion (နက္ခတ်), to be protected by particular celestial beings (male and female), and to result by its use in either acquisition of land, longevity, friends, righteousness, poverty, exile, loss by fire, or failure of desired object. The first four *ganās* are therefore "desirable" = *ittha* (အုပ္ပတ္တိ), and the rest "undesirable" = *anittha* (အနုပ္ပတ္တိ). Budding poets are advised not to employ the latter in their verses. But after all these and other preliminary explanations and cautions, we find that only the first foot of a verse or poem is judged in the light of prosody. Thus, to take the *Paramigan*, its first foot is ခဏ္ဍိ (2 1 2), which is of the *Ra* variety, belongs to the lunar mansion *Krattika*, is guarded by the Fire *nat* and the Kalakanni *nat-thami*, results in loss by fire, and is hence undesirable.

II. The terms ဂန္ထ and ခဏ္ဍိ are also met with in connection with the various kinds of *athats*.

There is nothing so bewildering in the study of Burmese as the differentiation of these *athats*; whether for a given word ဝ or န should be used, or for another န or ဝ or *niggahita*, is often a difficult matter even for the well-versed. Indeed among writers themselves there are differences of opinion (see some instances quoted in the *Käbya-Kye-hmon*, published by the Tampadipa Times Press, Mandalay, 1272), and numerous are the works on *that-pon* (orthography). Most of these, such as the *Käwi-lekkhana-that-pon* of Shwedaung Yaza-gyaw (Maung Aw, 1113 B. E.), and the Ledi Sayadaw's *Thinbongyi-thankheik*, contain lists of all words coming under each head of spelling, strung together in the form of the popular *than-bauk*, which serves the double purpose of aiding the memory and illustrating the sense in which each word is used. It was natural that some attempt at classification should have been made, and this appears to have been first done by Shin Wiseittara or Wiseittasara in his *A-that-chauk-pā*. His method is described at page 113 of Saya Lun's *Käbya-tharattha-thingyo* (1910). All words ending in *a-thats* (the *niggahita* being taken as equivalent to ဝ) are placed under six groups:—

- |               |                 |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. ဝရဓတ်သ်    | Paramat-than.   |
| 2. ဂရသ်       | Garu-than.      |
| 3. အနိန္ဒိတသ် | Aneiksita-than. |
| 4. ပညတ်သ်     | Pyinnyat-than.  |
| 5. လဟသ်       | Lahu-than.      |
| 6. ဣန္ဒိတသ်   | Eiksita-than.   |

All ဝ and *niggahita* words are placed under the first three; ဝ and န under the second three; ဣ under number 4; and ဝ under number 2.

The classification is most arbitrary, and, in view of the considerable overlappings, practically worthless. I have consulted Saya Lun himself, and he confesses that it gives little or no help. He has cleared up one point, however, that does not seem to be generally understood. The word သ် does not in this connection mean 'tone' or 'sound'—so that ဂရသ် and လဟသ် do not mean 'heavy sound' and 'light sound.' It refers to the sense, meaning or significance of a word. We thus get the following explanations of the *a-that chauk-pā*:—

1 and 4. *Paramat-than*—words whose meaning pertains to the *paramat*, which may mean here religion or religious usage, as the examples given are ဓမ္မစာလ်သရဏ်နိဗ္ဗာန်. It may otherwise mean words transliterated from Pali, but the occurrence of နိဗ္ဗာန်နိဗ္ဗာန် etc., negatives this as well as the former explanation. It may be that *paramat* words are those which connote something intrinsic or subjective,

though here also there are exceptions. Its antithesis is the *Pyinnyat-than*, words connoting extrinsicality or objectiveness or something indicated, such as ယုတ်မြတ်၊ မသိတတ်၊ အမှတ်၊ စိတ်သန်း၊ မှန်ကန်၊ စကန်။ The Burmese rendering of these two is respectively စတောင်မြန်သောကေား and ခေါ်ခေါ်မညတ်ချက်ကေား။

2 and 5. *Garu-than* (အလေးဖြစ်သောကေား) and *lahu-than* (ခေါ်သောကေား) include words involving conceptions which Roget places under the head of "Quantity by comparison with a standard." Thus, of the former class are those which have some heavy or deep significance or which connote greatness, magnitude, immensity, might, intensity, importance, great quantity, abundance, mass, goodness, nobility, gravity, grossness, completeness, excess, absoluteness, and so on. In the latter class are those descriptive of exactly the opposite of the above. This also is a very unsatisfactory division, and the exceptions are too numerous to prove the rule.

3 and 6. *Aneiksita* and *Eiksita* mean 'undesirable' and 'desirable.' Under the first head come words signifying something undesirable, inexpedient, improper, unfit, useless, objectionable, inconvenient, disadvantageous, inappropriate, inopportune, awkward, and so on. The 'desirables' are easy to understand.

I am afraid that lucidity is not the distinguishing characteristic of these "explanations," but the subject itself, owing to defective Burmese terminology, is a most complex one, rendered well-nigh inexplicable by the vagaries of authors who apparently refused to conform to any standard even in different writings of their own.

M. O.

## BURMESE SONGS.\*

The following translations of Burmese Songs, with the text in Roman character, are offered in the hope that some member of the Society will be induced to take up seriously the study of the song-language, and to rescue from oblivion some of the many beautiful poems which must still survive, and which are in danger of being lost for ever. The system of spelling is that adopted in "Half the Battle in Burmese," and is the method prescribed by Government made more accurate by some additions and modifications. The Editor has kindly undertaken to write notes on the text.

\* See Vol. 1, Part 1, June 1911, p. 99, where the translations, having appeared without any introduction, the author has sent the above to serve as a preface (*Edit.*)

The first song is part of the prologue with which every Burmese play begins. The others are well-known favourites. They do not belong to any particular play, but are learnt once for all by the actors, and brought in wherever they seem appropriate.

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## PERIODICALS.

**Indian Antiquary**, October, 1911, Vol. XL., Part 512, contains: Early South Indian Finance, by C. Hayavadana Rao.—Governor Richard Bouchier, by William Foster.—Contributions to Panjabi Lexicography, Series III, by H. A. Rose.—Rajputs and Marathas, by R. E. Enthoven.—Folklore Notes from Gujarat and the Konkan, by A. M. T. Jackson.

**T'oung Pao**, October, 1911, Vol. XII., No. 4, contains: Le royaume de Champa, by G. Maspero.—L'arrivée des Portugais en Chi by H. Cordier.—Essai de Dictionnaire Lolo Français, dialecte A, by A. Liétard.—Problèmes Chinois du second degré, by L. Vanhée.—Nécrologie: Sir Robert Hart.—Correspondence.

**Vienna Oriental Journal**, Vol. XXV., No. 2, contains: Ergänzungen und Bemerkungen zu Sa, Sb, Sb<sub>1</sub>, und Sc, by V. Christian.—Die Geburt des Purūravas, by J. Hertel.—Lexikalische Miszellen, by T. Löw.—Reviews.—Miscellaneous Notes.—etc., etc.

**Revue de Monde Musulman**, July–August, 1911, Vol. XV., Nos. 7 and 8, contains: Le Traité du Mariage et de l'Education d'Ibn Ardoun.—Extraits Traduits par P. Paquignon.—Etudes Sino-Mahométanes, by G. Cordier and A. Vissière.—Notes et Documents.—Presse Musulmane.—Livres et Revues.—etc., etc.

**Sarawak Museum Journal**, February, 1911, Vol. I., No. 1, contains: Introduction.—A Sea-Dyak Dirge, by W. Howell.—A Comparative Vocabulary of the Kayan, Kenyah, and Kalabit Dialects, by R. S. Douglas.—Stories of the First Brunei Conquests on the Sarawak Coast, by A. E. Lawrence.—The Tributes Paid in Former Days to the Sultan of Brunei by the then Dependent Provinces of Sarawak, by E. Parnell.—Ethnological Notes.—A Contribution to the Study of the Insect Fauna of Borneo (I), by J. C. Moulton.—Notes on Bornean Odonata, by F. F. Laidlaw.—A List of Sarawak Minerals, by J. S. Geikie.—etc., etc.

**Orientalisches Archiv**, October, 1911, Vol. II., Part I., contains: Zur Topographie Konstantinopels im XVI. Jahrhundert, by C. Gurlitt.—Sultan Soliman als Retter des Sanct Georg zu Ofen, by G. Jacob.—Turkmenenteppiche, by J.

Kuderna.—Ueber einige Aulagen und Bauwerke Yarkends (Chinesisch Turkestan), by M. Hartmann.—Zur Kenntniss der arischen Bevölkerung des Pamir, by A. von Schultz.—Wann ist das Chinesische Porzellan erfunden und wer war sein Erfinder? by E. Zimmermann.—Meisterinnen des Japanischen Holzschnittes, by J. Kurth.—Kleine Mittheilungen.—etc., etc.

**Journal of the Siam Society**, August, 1911, Vol. VIII., Part I., contains: Dipterocarpaceæ of Northern Siam: Condition of Growth and Reproduction.—Economic Products, by F. D. Ryan and A. F. G. Kerr.—etc., etc.

**Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society**, Vol. XXIII., No. 65, contains: Bhakti, by L. J. Sedgwick.—Besnagar, by H. H. Lake.—An Account of the Comets as given by Mahomedan Historians and as contained in the Books of the Pishinigân or the Ancient Persians, referred to by Abdul Fazl, by Shums-ul-Ulama Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.—Kumāraguptā, the Patron of Vasubandhu, by K. B. Pathak.—etc., etc.

**Journal of the African Society**, October, 1911, Vol. XI., No. 41, contains: The Economic Condition of Egypt, by F. Legrand.—Wemba War-Paths, by J. H. West Sheane.—The Proposed South African Native College, by K. A. Hobart Houghton.—Linguistic Bibliography of Northern Nigeria, by B. Struck.—History of the Katagum Division, by J. M. Fremantle.—Native Tribunals of the Akras, by A. B. Quartey-Papafio.—Editorial Notes.—Book Reviews.—etc., etc.

**Journal of the American Oriental Society**, Vol. XXXI., Part IV., October, 1911, contains: The Mayūrāṣṭaka, an Unedited Sanskrit Poem by Mayūra, by G. P. Quackenbos.—On the Etymology of Ishtar, by George A. Barton.—On the Etymology of Syria Dastabirā, by Roland G. Kent.—The Washington Manuscript of Joshua, by Max L. Margolis.—A letter from the Mahdi Muhammad Ahmad to General C. G. Gordon, by George Sverdrup, junr.—Monosyllabic Roots in Pampang, by Carlos Everett Comant.—A Divine Lament, by J. Dyneley Prince.—Indo-Iranian Word Studies, by Edwin W. Fay.—Proceedings of the Annual Meeting.—etc., etc.

**Journal Asiatique**, May-June, 1911, Vol. XVII., No. 3, contains: Inscriptions de Miran, by A. M. Boyer.—Etudes des Documents Tokhariens de la Mission Pelliot, by S. Lévi.—Remarques Linguistiques, by A. Meillet.—Prolégo-mènes à l'Etude des Historiens Arabes par Khalil ibn Aibak As-Safadî, Publiés et Traduits d'après les Manuscrits de Paris et

de Vienne, by E. Amar.—Comptes Rendus.—Chronique et Notes Bibliographiques.—etc., etc.

**Buddhist Review**, October, November, December, 1911, Vol. III, No. 4, contains: Six Reasons for the Study of Buddhism, by A. J. Edmunds.—The Five Precepts.—Buddhism and Woman, by D. Wright.—The Significance of Mahāyana Buddhism, by Zen.—The Rediscovery of Buddhism, by J. T. Lloyd.—Buddhism and the Doctrine of the Soul, by Sakyo Kanda.—Anattā, by Bhikkhu Silācāra.—Meditation, by Major E. R. Rost.—Reviews, Notices, &c., &c.

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## BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS OFFERED TO THE SOCIETY.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN BURMA, by Rev. W. C. B. Purser, M. A.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY, EASTERN CIRCLE, FOR THE YEAR 1910-1911.

PRELIMINARY STUDY OF THE FOURTH TEXT OF THE MYAZEDI INSCRIPTIONS, by C. O. Blagdon.

SELECTION OF SPEECHES BY SIR HERBERT THIRKELL WHITE, by "A Loyal Burman".

SIX BUDDHIST NYAYA TRACTS IN SANSKRIT, Edited by M. H. Shastri, M. A.

A MANUAL OF THE LAWNGWAW or MĀRU LANGUAGE, by F. V. Clerk.

A GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF SHAN, by Major F. Bigg-Wither, I. A.

A YEAR ON THE IRRAWADDY, by E. M. P-B.

SANSKRIT-TIBETAN-ENGLISH VOCABULARY, Part I, by Alex. C. De Körös, edited by E. Denison Ross, Ph. D., F. A. S. B. and M. S. C. Vidyābhūṣana.

PROGRESS REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, WESTERN CIRCLE, for 1910-11.

PANCHA SILA: The Five Precepts, by Bhikkhu Silācāra.

ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT, HINDU AND BUDDHIST MONUMENTS, NORTHERN CIRCLE, PUNJAB, for 1910-11.

ANNUAL PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT, MUHAMMADAN AND BRITISH MONUMENTS, NORTHERN CIRCLE, for 1910-11.

CATALOGUE OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL MUSEUM AT MATHURA, by J. Ph. Vogel, Ph. D.

ANTIQUITIES OF CHAMBA STATES, by J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D.

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## OBITUARY.

In Memoriam.

JOHN ALFRED COPE, I. C. S.

Enteric fever at Moulmein has lately robbed the Province of one who was already far on the way to make a niche for himself, which it would have been hard for another to fill adequately. John Cope joined an accurate and painstaking scholarship with a robust outlook on life and a capacity for affairs.

The son of an erudite father, at Leather-head School Cope fell under the influence of an enthusiastic scholar, and thereafter a passion for letters claimed him.

When he reached Burma in 1903 it happened that his first Deputy Commissioner was Fielding Hall, who fostered in him a warm admiration and affection for the Burmese race, and for all things Burmese: a subsequent posting to Salin enabled him to lay the foundations of a Pali education, and it was through his representations that Pali was added to the list of languages which officials in the Province are encouraged to study.

Throughout the various postings, which fall to the lot of a junior officer, Cope was fitting himself, more or less consciously, for the post which he might have inspired the Government of India to create for him, that of Government Epigraphist with a special mission to search out and preserve the mass of priceless historical material, now fast decaying in mouldering parabais: thus relieving Taw Sein Ko of part of an ever increasing burden.

He has died untimely leaving undone almost all that his friends had hoped to see him accomplish. It was indeed no small achievement for an Assistant Commissioner with five years' service to bring about the Pali examination, and to be the first officer to pass that examination and receive the reward. But those who persevered to find the man behind the mannerism were conscious that Cope had in him at least the makings of a great man, and could hope that he would find some larger work lying ready to his hand.

His Burman friends, of whom he had not a few, will grieve for one who tried to fit his mind to their habits of thought. The others of us will regret a humane warm-hearted friend, whose pungency of phrase and metaphor made him refreshingly good company. The personal loss will be felt by many, with this added grievance against Fate that the Province has lost an officer hard, if not impossible, to replace.

E. N. B.



## LIST OF MEMBERS.

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182

Q1







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